JAINA MONUMENTS

AND PLACES OF

FIRST CLASS IMPORTANCE

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

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METAL IMAGES

JAINA MONUMENTS

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T. N. Ramachandran

In our search for Jaina vestiges we should naturally turn to the places where the Tīrthaṅkaras were born and attained *nirvāṇa* as they are just the places of pilgrimage in and around which the Jaina religious following had constructed monuments and the like for a faithful posterity to admire and adore. Such are :—

Tīrthāṅkara.	*Place of birth*	*Place of nirvāṇa.*
1. Ādinātha	Ayodhya	Kailaśa or Mt. Aṣṭā pada.*
2. Ajitanātha	do	Sammeta śikhara or Mt. Pārśvanātha in West Bengal.
3. Sambhavanātha	Śrāvastī	do
4. Abhinandana	Ayodhyā	do
5. Sumatinātha	do	do
6. Padmaprabha	Kauśāmbi	do
7. Supārśvanātha	Vārāṇasi	do
8. Chandraprabha	Chandrapurī	do
9. Puṣpadanta	Kākandī	do
10. Śītalanātha	Bhadrapura	do
11. Śreyāṁśanātha	Simhapurī	do
12. Vāsupūjya	Champāpurī	Champāpurī (North Bengal).
13. Vimalanātha	Kāmpilya	Mt. Parśvanātha or Sammeta Śikhara.
14. Anantanātha	Ayodhyā	do
15. Dharmanātha	Ratnapurī	do
16. Śāntinātha	Hastināpura	do
17. Kunthunātha	do	do
18. Aranātha	do	do
19. Mallinātha	Mithilāpurī or Mathurā.	do
20. Munisuvrata	Rājagṛha or Kuśāgranagara.	do
21. Naminātha	Mithilāpurī or Mathurā.	do
22. Neminātha	Souripura or Dvārakā.	Mt. Girnāra.
23. Pārśvanātha	Kāśī	Mt. Pārśvanātha
24. Mahāvīra	Kundagrāma or Kuṇḍapura.	Pāvāpurī.

* Supposed to be Śatruñjaya in Gurerat.

1. RĀJAGṚHA

Of actual structures anterior to the Maurya epoch, the only examples, known to have survived until the present day, are the walls and remains of dwellings in the old city of Rājagṛha, all built of rough cyclopean masonry. This city was reputed in antiquity to have been forsaken during the reign of king Bimbisāra, the contemporary of the Buddha, who removed the capital to New Rājagṛha, but as to how long the walls or houses had then been standing, tradition is silent.

According to Jinaprabhasūri, the city which eventually came to be called Rājagṛha was known from time to time by such earlier names as Kshitipratishṭhā, Chanakapura, Ṛisabhapura and Kuśāgrapura, the first three of which are not met with elsewhere, in Buddhist or Brahmanical literature. This capital of Magadha might be viewed from a distance from the Gorathagiri (modern Barābar hills) in Bihar.

According to the Jaina tradition recorded in Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa*, Rājagṛha was not the first but the last name by which the capital of Magadha came to be known. Of the four earlier names, Kshitipratishṭhā, Chaṇakapura, Vṛṣbhapura, and Kuśāgrapura, one at least, namely, Kuśāgrapura, is met with in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsiang and the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa.*

The Jaina *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* speaks of Rājagṛha as the residence of kings and princes such as Jarāsandha, Śreṇika, Kunika, Abhaya, Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandiṣeṇa. Jarāsandha was no other than King Jarāsandha of Epic fame, Śreṇika was king Seṇiya Bimbisāra of Pāli literature, Kūṇika was King *Ajātaśatru,* son and successor of Bimbisāra. Abhaya was Abhayarājakumāra, and Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandiṣeṇa were like Kūṇika and Abhaya, sons of *Bimbisāra,* presumably by different queens. According to the Jaina *Nirayāvaliya Sutta,* Vihalla's mother was a daughter of Ceṭaka, the then king of Videha, while

according to Buddhist tradition, Ajātasattu was a son of Bimbisāra by a Videhan queen *(Ajātasattu Vedehīputto)*.

During the reign of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru the city of Rājagṛha was at the height of its prosperity. The Jaina texts (Jaina Sūtras) describe Rājagaha as a city which was rich, happy and thriving. *Jinaprabha-sūri* tells us that it contained 36,000 houses of merchants, half of which belonged to the Buddhists, and the other half belonged to the Jainas shown forth in the middle as a row of magnificent buildings. Buddhaghoṣa, too, mentions Rājagaha as a city, the inner and outer areas of which contained each nine crores of people. At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit in the 7th century A.D. 'the only inhabitants of the city were 1,000 Brahmin families' and many Digambaras lodged on the *Pi-pu-lo* mountain who practised austerities incessantly.

The Jaina records and traditions, earlier as well as later, are mainly responsible for the modern nomenclature of the hills around Rājgir. If one enters Rājgir from the north, the hill which lies to the right is *Vaibhāragiri;* that which lies to the left is *Vipulagiri;* the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southwards parallel to the Vaibhāra is *Ratnagiri;* the one forming the eastern extension of the *Ratnagiri* is *Chhaṭhāgiri* and the hills that stands next to *Chhaṭhāgiri* in continuation of the latter is *Śailagiri*. The one opposite to the *Chhaṭhāgiri* is *Udayagiri;* that which lies to the south of *Ratnagiri* and the west of Udaya is *Soṇagiri*. The *Vaibhāragiri* extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rajgir with the *Soṇagiri*. The *Vipula-parvata* runs for some length towards the south-east leading to the northern range of hills that extends up to the village called Giriyak or Giryek on the Bihar-Sharif-Nawadah road. The Ratnagiri streches southward for some distance and then bends eastward, the eastern hills *Chhaṭhāgiri* and *Śailagiri* extending towards north-east forming the northern range of Rājgir hills. The *Chhathāgiri* and the *Śailagiri* form the east-

ern entrance of Rājgir with the *Udayagiri* which, continues eastward as the southern range of Rājgir hills. The *Udayagiri* in its turn forms the southern entrance of Rājgir with the *Soṇagiri* The *Soṇagiri* extends further west or southwest to form the western entrance of Rājgir with the *Vaibhāra* hill which stands in front of it. The Rājgir hills forming two parallel ranges, northern and southern, run north-east over a distance of 9 miles and terminate at the village of Giriyak.

In the inscriptions of the Jaina temples on *Vaibhāragiri* the names of the hill is 'sometimes written as *Vaibhāra,* and sometimes as Vyavahāra'. It is apparently the same mountain as *Vaihāra* which is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a *vipula śaila,* or 'massive rock'. According to Jinaprabhasūri, the city of Rājagṛha shone forth in the valley of *Vaibhāragiri* with *Trikūṭa, Khandika,* and the rest as its bright peaks. The Jaina author speaks of some dark caves in this hill that could not be entered without much difficulty *(tamaskanda-durngāhaguhā).* He refers to this sacred hill as the site where one might be easily inclined to build *kundas* of tepid and cold water *(tapta-śītāmbu-kundāni).* Close to this hill were the Sarasvatī and other streams flowing with pleasant waters with properties to heal diseases, and they served as so many popular *tīrthas* (bathing places). The *Saugatas* (Buddhists) built *vihāras* on this hill, finding it to be a suitable site *(pratideśa),* and the Jainas installed images of the holy Arhats *(Tīrthaṅkaras)* in the *chaityas (shrines)* built upon it. Thus Rājagṛha and its neighbourhood have a considerable importance in the history of Jainism. For it was in Nālanda, a suburb of Rājagṛha, that Mahāvīra spent the second year of his asceticism. It was again in Rājagṛha and Nālanda that he found his early supporters in such rich householders as Vijaya, Ānanda, Sudarśana and Bahula. Gosāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas, met him first in Rājagṛha. The settlement of Kollāga *(Konnāga),* and the village

of Bālaka at some distance from Nālanda, were places that became scenes of his early action. The *Kalpa-Sūtra* informs us that in Rājagṛha and Nālanda Mahāvīra spent as many as fourteen rainy seasons. Rājagṛha was also known as the birth-place of Munisuvrata [20th Tīrthankara], one of the predecessors of Mahāvīra. Eleven out of the twelve *gaṇadharas* or leading disciples of Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* in Rājagṛha.

The Pāli *Nikāyas* refer to *Kālaśilā* or Black Rock on a slope or side of *Isigili* as the place where the Nirgranthas were seen practising the difficult penance of remaining in standing posture *(ubbhaṭṭhikā)*, rejecting seats *(āsana-paṭikkhittā)*. This *Kālaśilā* was, perhaps, no other than what is called the site of *Guṇaśilā-chaitya* in the Jaina *Uvāsaga-dasāo*. When Hiuen Tsiang visited Rājagṛha in the 7th Century A.D. he saw many Digambars on the Pi-pulo (Vaibhāra) mountain, who lodged there and practised austerities incessantly turning round with the sun, watching it for the whole day.

The earliest known Jaina inscription is the one on the pedestal of the Jina-image recording the name of Mṭ. Vipula and king Śreṇika in a Brāhmī alphabet which may take us back to the Kushāṇa age. The Jainas built small temples on almost all the hills of Rājgir, installing images of the Tīrthankaras in them and those still exist. Pāpāpuri (or Pāvāpuri), the place of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* is located near Rājagṛha, on the Bihar Sharif-Nawadah road.

Prince Abhaya figures in the Pāli *Nikāyas* as a strong lay-supporter of the order of recluses founded by Mahāvīra. According to Jaina tradition, among the sons of Śreṇika (Bimbisāra), Abhaya, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandisena were lay adherents of the Jaina faith. It is quite natural that there existed some amount of rivalry between the Jainas and the Buddhists.

The Pāli *Nikāyas* refer also to Pāvārika's "Mango-grove" at Nalanda as the place where Mahāvīra figured as a very popu-

lar and venerable personality. One Dīghatapassī, a Jaina recluse of the time, resided there. Upāi, a rich householder of the locality, played the role of a *sāvaka* or lay worshipper of the great Tīrthaṅkara. Lepa was another rich householder of Nalanda to figure among the Jaina *sāvakas*. He had a "bathing hall which was beautiful and contained many hundreds of pillars."

While thus Rājagṛha takes the foremost place in the history of Jainism, its value as an archæological centre is outstanding. It is well known to you all that the Archæological Survey of India have been excavating and preserving the monuments at Rājgir ever since the Department was started. The possibilities of New Rājgir (District Patna) as a suitable centre for archæological excavation are such that we must resolve now, on this grand occasion of Lord Mahāvīra's Śāsana Celebration, to help the Archæological Survey to acquire the site of New Rājgir for excavation. I am sure the Jainas whose thirst for culture is proverbial will rally round and help the Archæological Survey to acquire, preserve, and excavate New Rājgir.

2. BIHAR:

Barābar Hills.

Chaste and severe like Aśokan Pillars are the dwellings and chapels excavated in the hills of Bihar. Like the *chaityas* or hermitages from which they were copied, these consist of a small oblong chamber (in one instance with rounded ends) with or without a circular apartment at one extremity, but in only one example is the timber work of their prototypes reproduced in stone. The example referred to is the Lomas Ṛṣi Cave, the ornamental façade of which is an accurate replica of a wooden

model. This particular cave, however, bears no inscriptions either of Aśoka or of Daśaratha, and the fact that its interior was left in unfinished state suggests that it was the latest of the whole group. Probably, it was not excavated until after the close of Daśaratha's reign. The exacavated *chaitya*-halls in the Barābar hills, Bihar, were dedicated to the use, not of Buddhists, but of the Ājīvikas.

The Lomas Ṛiṣi cave, is undated, and apparently unfinished, but certainly Maurya. The shrine chamber in it is oval, and the entrance façade is carved, in imitation of wooden forms, in the shape of an ogee arch above heavy sloping jambs, and the pediment is decorated with a frieze of well designed elephants. Atleast four other Maurya cave shrines or monasteries are found in the same district. All are excavated in the hardest rock, but are exquisitely finished and polished like glass inside. The forms are evidently those of contemporay structural buildings in indigenous style.

3. MATHURĀ.

The steady growth of plastic art derives additional light from the pre-Kushāṇa sculptures of Mathurā, which are the more instructive, because they all emanate from one and the same school. These sculptures divide themselves into three main classes, the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B.C.; the second to the following century; and the last associated with the rule of the local Satraps. Of these, the first two are closely akin in style to the reliefs of the Bhārhut rail and Sānchi *toraṇas* respectively. The sculptures of the third class are more exceptional. Their style is that of the Early School in a late and decadent phase, when its arts was

becoming conventionalised and lifeless. Typical examples are a Jaina *āyāgapaṭa* or votive tablet dedicated, as the inscription on it informs us, by a courtesan named Loṇaśobhikā, and another which is decorated on both sides, from a small *toraṇa* arch. In all works of the Mathurā school of this period the same tendency towards schematic treatment is apparent, but it appears to have affected the Jaina sculpture more than the Buddhist. The dramatic vigour and warmth of feeling which characterised the relief of the Sānchi gateways is now vanishing; the composition is becoming weak and mechanical, the postures formal and stilted. The cause of this sudden decadence is not difficult to discover. A little before the beginning of the Christian era Mathurā had become the capital of a Satrapy, either subordinate to or closely connected with the Scytho-Parthian Kingdom of Taxila, and as a result, there was an influx there of semi-Hellenistic art, too weak in its new environment to maintain its own individuality, yet strong enough to interrupt and enervate the older traditions of Hindusthan. It was no longer a case of Indian art being vitalised by the inspiration of the West, but of its being deadened by its embrace. As an illustration of the close relation that existed between Mathurā and the North West, the votive tablet of Loṇaśobhikā is particularly significant, the *stūpa* depicted on it being identical in form with *stūpas* of the Scytho-Parthian epoch at Taxila, but unlike any monument of the class in Hindusthan. Another interesing votive tablet of the same class is one dedicated by a lady named Āmohinī in the reigh of the Great Satrap Śoḍāsa (10—15 A.D.) which, to judge by the style of its carving, dates from about the beginning of the Christian era.

The School of Mathurā is more nearly related to Bhārhut than to Sānchi and is represented by some fragementary sculptures which must go back to the middle of the second century B. C.

The main Jaina establishment at Mathurā represented by the

Kankāli Tilā site already existed in the second century B. C. Amongst the more interesting sculptures are the *āyāgapatas* or votive tablets, such as those above referred to, but usually square; they bear inscriptions in Brāhmī characters which can scarcely be later than the beginning of the Kushāṇa period. Some bear in the centre the representation of a seated Jina with shaven head of the type of the larger cult image of Pārśvanātha from the same site, and of the early Buddhas. Other reliefs include representations of Hariṇegameśa, a minor divinity connected with the nativity of Mahāvīra.

Rock-cut caves of Western and Eastern India

While structural edifices—*stūpas*, chapels and monasteries were being erected in Hindusthan, the Buddhists and Jainas of Western and Eastern India were engaged in fashioning more permanent monuments of the same class by hewing them from the living rock. The practice of hollowing out chambers had been common in Egypt from time immemorial, and by the sixth century B.C. had spread as far east as Persia, where the royal tombs of Darius and his successors of the Achæmenian dynasty up to the time of Codomannus (335-330 B.C.) were excavated in the cliffs of Naksh-i-Rustam and Persepolis. From Persia the idea found its way during the third century before the christian era into Hindusthan and resulted, as we have already seen, in the excavation of dwelling places and chapels for ascetics in the Barābar hills of Bihar. These artificial caves of the Maurya period were of very modest proportions, and were at first kept severely plain, or, like their Iranian proto-types, adorned only on the outer façade. As time went on, however, the Indian excavators became more ambitious and, rapidly expanding their ideas, proceeded to copy their structural *chaitya* halls and *vihāras* on the same scale as the originals, and to imitate their details with an accuracy which speaks more for their industry and patience than for the originality of their genius. So literal, indeed, was the

translation of wooden architecture into the new and more durable material, that infinite toil was expended in perpetuating forms which became quite meaningless and inappropriate when applied to stone.

4. ORISSA.

Of the early caves along the East Coast the only ones that merit attention are the two neighbouring and intimately connected groups on the hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa dating from the first century B.C. Unlike the rock-hewn monuments of Western India, which were the handiwork of Buddhists, these Orissan caves were both excavated and for many years tenanted by adherents of the Jaina religion, who have left behind them unmistakable evidences of their faith both in the early inscribed records and in the medieval cult statues which are found in several of the caves. To this sectarian difference is due many distinctive features of the architecture, including, among others, the entire absence of chaitya halls, for which, apparently, there was no need in the ceremonial observances of the Jainas.

A further stage in the development of this architecture is reached in the *Rāṇi Gumphā* of great importance to the Jainas, which is atonce the most spacious and elaborately decorated of all the Orissan caves. It consists of two storeys, each originally provided with a *verāndāh* — the lower 43 feet in length with three cells behind, the upper 20 feet longer with four cells behind; in addition to which there are chambers of irregular plan in the wings, to right and left of the *verāndāhs*. In both storeys the façades of the cells are enriched with pilasters and high ornate friezes illustrating episodes connected with the Jaina

religion, of which unfortunately the interpretation has not yet been established.

It is significant, too, that various points of resemblance are to be traced between the sculptures of the upper floor here and the Jaina reliefs of Mathurā, where, as we have already seen the artistic traditions of the North-West were at this time obtaining a strong foothold.

The truth appears to be that the art of Orissa, unlike the are of Central or Western India possessed little independent vitality, and flourished only so long as it was stimulated by other schools, but became retrograde the moment that inspiration was withdrawn.

The *Rāṇi* and *Gaṇeśa* caves are both two-storeyed, with friezes interrupted by the cell doorways, in both the upper and lower galleries; the former the largest and the best decorated of all. The scenes, which include the hunting of a winged deer, fightn'g scenes, the carrying off of a woman etc., though superficially fit in with the abduction of Sītā, Mārīcha, the golden deer of the Rāmāyaṇa, have nct been identified correctly or satisfactorily, but may be presumed to be taken from Jaina legends and to have an edifying value equivalent to that of the Buddhist *Jatakas*. Or was there a *Jaina* version of Rāma's story, like that the Buddhist have called *Daśaratha Jātaka?* The style is original and vigorous. "Shield" and *svastika* symbols are found in the same cave.

The *Udayagiri* caves have been carved out of the living rock like those of Western India. They were evidently intended for the residence of Jaina monks, and made probably in the first century B.C. During this century the great Jaina king Khāravela of Kalinga set up a long inscription recording his achievements, in the celebrated cave known as *Hāthigumphā* in this very hill (called *Kumārī-parvata* in the inscription), and there

is little doubt that at least some of the caves were excavated by him and his family.

It is possible that the residence of *Arhats* (monks), which king Khāravela is represented in his inscription to have erected, refers to *Rāṇi Nūr* or *Rāṇigumphā*. This lies behind *Hāthi-gumphā* and is the most spacious and elaborately decorated rock-cut cave in the hill. It is a two-storeyed structure consisting of a number of cells and was originally provided with a *verāndāh* in both the storeys. To the right and left of the *verāndāhs*, in the two projected wings of the cave, there are also chambers of irregular shape. The friezes seem to represent some legends from Jaina mythology, but have never been satisfactorily explained. The *Rāṇi Nūr* sculpture may be said to be typical of the School represented by the Udayagiri caves. It shows a more advanced technique than Bhārhut, while the balancing of the details in the compositions, and the vigorous and animated treatment of the figures, which are specially noteworthy in the friezes of the upper storey of *Rāṇi Nūr*, are suggestive of a stage of develop-ment witnessed in the reliefs of the Sānchī Gateways.

NORTH INDIA

5. *KHAJURĀHO* : The groups of Hindu and Jaina temples at the old Chandela capital of Khajurāho in Bundelkhand are second in importance and magnificence only to the mediaeval temples at Orissa. All appear to have been erected between 950 and 1050 A.D. The Vaiṣṇava Caturbhuja and the Jaina Ādi-nātha temples are in exactly the same style, to be distinguished only by the details of their sculpture.

6. *MOUNT ĀBU* : The Jaina temples at Mount Ābu are deservedly famous. These take their name of Dilvārā from the adjoining village, situated at a height of 4000 feet on an isolated hill in Southern Rājaputānā; the group consists of four temples, of which the most important are those of Vimala Shā and Tejahpāla, respectively (c. 1032 and 1232). They are constructed entirely of white marble, quarried in the plains below, and carried up the steep hill by infinite labour. These are domed shrines with pillared halls. As Cousens remarks "the amount of beautiful ornamental detail spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of celings, pillars, doorways, panels. and niches is simply marvellous; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty. The work is so delicate that ordinary chiselling would have been disastrous. It is said that much of it was produced by scraping the marble away, and the masons were paid by the amount of marble dust so removed." The two great domical ceilings are the most remarkable features; all the fretted marble is deeply undercut, and in the centre there hangs a great carved pendant. It must not be supposed that all this work is overwrought; this is rather one of those cases where exuberance is beauty. It will be understood, of course, that the figure sculpture is necessarily in the same key, each individual figure being but a note in the whole scheme, not a profound invention to be separately studied. The same applies even to the images of the Jainas in this period; each is severely simple. but all are alike in representing nothing more than the skilled realisation of a fixed formula.

7-9. *TĀRANGĀ, GIRNĀR AND ŚATRUÑJAYA* : There is another and even more picturesque Jaina *tīrtha* or place of pilgrimage at Tārangā, not far from Siddhapur, with a temple of

Ajitanātha, built by Kumārapāla. The most remarkable of such *Tīrthas,* however, are the great temple cities — cities not built for human habitation, but consisting of temples alone — picturesquely situated on the hills of Girnār in Kāṭhiawād and Śatruñjaya or Pālitānā in Gujrāt. At Girnār the great temple of Neminātha is certainly older than 1278 A.D., when it was repaired; another, built by the brothers Tejahpāla and Vastupāla, founders of the second temple at Mt. Ābu dates about 1230 A.D. The former stands in a colonnaded court of some seventy cells, the latter is a triple shrine arranged in Chālukyan fashion about a central hall. At Śatruñjaya the total number of shrines, in even separate enclosures, exceeds five hundred. Some date back to the eleventh century, the majority range from 1500 A.D. to the present day. One of the largest is the temple of Ādinātha in the Kharataravasī Tuk, built by a banker of Ahmadabad in 1618; this is a shrine of two storeys, with a well proportioned *śikhara*, and with a *verāndāh* of which the pillars bear capitals richly carved with figures of musicians and dancers. A small shrine built by the Nagar Seth, or Head of the Guilds of Ahmadabad in 1840, is a pillared hall of unique design with external *verāndāhs;* the floor is divided by twelve piers into nine smaller squares, those of the angles having domed roofs, those of the centre and sides being crowned by towers; the five principal icons represent sacred mountains.

10-11. *RAṆPUR AND PĀRAŚNĀTH* : Other picturesquely situated Jaina temple groups are found at Rānpur (especially the chaumukha temple, A.D. 1458) in Jodhpur State, and Pāraśnāth in Bengal.

12. *PĀWĀPURI* : The Jainas built small temples in almost all the hills of Rājgir, installing the images of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*

in them in comparatively modern times, and these still exist. They have located Pāwāpuri, (or Pāvāpuri, as it is called) the place of Mahāvīra's demise, near Rājagṛha on the Bihar Sharif-Nawadah road.

13. JAINISM IN EAST BENGAL.

Of particular interest to the Jainas of East India is the find made last year at Maināmati, near Comilla, East Bengal of a stone image of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara and pot-sherds from pottery evidently of monastic use. Though the image could not be recovered as since it was found it had been secreted somewhere for safety, we have the testimony of Mr. R. M. Chakravarty, Superintendent of the Ramala Library, Comilla, who saw it when it was excavated, that it was a nude image representing a *Tīrthaṅkara.* No other Jaina remains could be noticed in the locality. We do not hear much of Jainism in East Bengal. The existence of a Jaina Vihāra in the 4th century A.D. at Vaṭa-Gohāli in the present site of Pāhārpur, Rajshahi District, Hiuen Tsiang's reference in the 7th century A.D. to the influence the *Nirgranthas* had in North, South and East Bengal, the subsequent disappearance from Bengal of the sect of *Nirganthas* during the pāla and Sena period, the probable assimilation of the *Nirgranthas* towards the end of the Pāla period in the Avadhūtas and such other religious sects and the re-establishment in Northern Bengal during the Muhammadan period of the old religion in its new form, thanks to the services of Jaina immigrants from Western India – are some of the features in the developement of Jainism in Bengal. Its sway in East Bengal in contrast to the spectacular hold that Buddhism had in Bengal was not much. As at Pāhārpur, so also at Mainā-mati, Jainism appears to have flourished side by side with Buddhism and Brahmanism.

SOUTH INDIA

The history of Jainism in South India "is the history of a partial attempt to Aryanise the Dravidian races." This attempt may be said to commence when Chandragupta Maurya accompanied Bhadrbahu I to the south a few years before 297 B.C. This was followed by other missions to the south, such as that of Kālakāchārya, a preacher of the Śvetāmbara sect who "found his way to the court of the king of Pentha in the Deccan," and who was probably an Andhra king or chief ruling from Paithan, and of Viśākhāchārya, a Digambara preacher who "with a group of emigrants penetrated the Chōla and Pāṇḍya countries." The spread of Jainism and the dissemination of Jaina ideals in the Tamil country received sufficient impetus on the advent of Kundakundāchārya "evidently a Dravidian and the first in almost all the genealogies of the southern Jainas" and is attested to by literary works such as the *Kuṛaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, *Maṇimekhalai* and *Silappadikāram*. The spread of Jainism in the Tamil country is in no small measure due to "the patronge it obtained at the courts of Kāñchī and Madurā." At the time of the visits of Hiuen Tsiang to these cities, the former had a number of *Deva* temples of which "the majority belonged to the Digambaras" and the latter had in it living a number of Digambaras.

Whatever may be the controversial views entertained by historians to-day on the question of "the antiquity of Jainism" and existence of" a Jaina period in the History of India" it is accepted on all hands that from the beginning of the Christian era down to the epoch-making conversion of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana by the great Vaiṣṇava Āchārya Rāmānuja in the twelfth century, Jainism was the most powerful religion in the South.

Though we do not possess to-day the names of kings in South India who were Buddhists we have fortunately preserved for us the names of some that adopted Jainism. Some of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi, chief among whom was Mahēndravarman I (600-30 A.D.), a few Pāṇḍya, Western Chālukya, Ganga, Rāshṭrakūṭa, Kalachurya and Hoysala kings were staunch Jainas and it is said of some of them that they persecuted other religionists.

The early faith of Kūn-Pāṇḍya or Neḍumāran, a great Pāṇḍya king who lived in the eighth century was Jainism, from the "clutches" of which, it is said, he was saved by Tirujñāna Sambandha, another Saivite saint. The Kadamba kings of Banavāsi in Karnāṭaka, though themselves Hindus, were "systematically eclectic and favoured Jainism as the religion of many of their subjects." They are, to mention a few, Kākusthavarman (430-450 A.D.), Mṛgesavarman (475-490 A.D.). Ravivarman (497-537 A.D.), and Harivarman (537-547 A.D.).

The western Chālukyas or the early Chālukyas as they are more often called, were also patrons of Jainism. Jayasimha I, the first king of the dynasty appears to have patronised three Jaina Āchāryas, Guṇachandra, Vasuchandra and Vādirāja. Pulakeśi I (550 A.D.) made endowments to a Jaina temple at Ālakhtanagara and Kīrtivarman I (566-597 A.D.), his son, gave a grant to "the temple of Jinendra," while Pulakesi II, the latter's son (609-642 A.D.) patronised Ravikīrti, the Jaina poet who composed the Aihole inscription in which he says :— "This stone temple of Jinendra . . . was constructed by Ravikīrti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same Satyāsraya (Pulakesi), whose commands were restrained by the three oceans." Niravadya-paṇḍita or Udayadeva-paṇḍita as he is also called, house pupil of Pūjyapāda, who belonged to the *Deva-gaṇa* of the *Mūlasangha*, i.e., of Digambara Jainas, is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Jayasimha II, and of Vinayāditya (680-697 A.D.).He

is said to have received at the hands of Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.), the son of Vinayāditya, a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple. Vikramāditya II (733-747 A.D.), the son of Vijayāditya, repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a Jaina ascetic Vijaya-paṇḍita by name.

But the "golden age of Jainism" in Karṇāṭaka was under the Gangas, who, it is said, made Jainism their "state religion." It is said of the great Jaina Āchārya Simhanandi that he was not only instrumental in laying the foundation of the Ganga kingdom but acted also in the capacity of an adviser to Konguṇivarman I, the first Ganga king. While Mādhava II (540-565 A.D.) made grants to the Digambaras, Durvinīta (605-650 A.D.) sat at the feet of Pūjyapāda and Durvinīta's son Mushkara (650 A.D.) made Jainism the "state religion." Ganga kings, who came subsequently, were zealous patrons of Jainism. It is said of Mārasimha III (961-974 A.D.), whoss general Chāmuṇḍa Rāja erected the colossal statue of Bāhubali at *Sravaṇa Belgola,* that he "crowned his life with the highest sacrifice a Jaina may offer to his faith, viz., death by *Sallekhanā,* or slow starvation." Rājamalla I (817-828 A.D.) founded a Jaina cave at Vallimalai in North-Arcot District. (Plate 4.) Nītimārga I, his son, was a Jaina.

Among the Rāshṭrakūṭas, who were also patrons of Jainism, the best known is Amoghavarsha I (814-15-877-78 A.D. though we know also that his father Govinda III (798-815 A.D.) gave a grant to a Jaina teacher Arikīrti, "for removing the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya of the Chālukya family. It is said of Amoghavarsha I that he sat at the feet of the great Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Guṇabhadra and wrote the first recension of which was completed in 783-4 A.D. in the time of Govinda III, a portion of the *Ādi-purāṇa,* which was part of the Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa,* while Guṇabhadra completed the *Ādi-purāṇa* by writing the Uttara-purāṇa or the second part of the

Mahā-purāṇa in 897 A.D., in the reign of Amogha-varsha's successor, Kṛshna II (880-911-12 A.D.). Among Jaina works that were written at the Rāshṭrakūta capital, mostly under the patronage of Amoghavarsha I, mention may be made, besides *Harivaṁśa, Ādi-purāṇa* and *Uttara-purāṇa* of *Akalanka-Charita, Jayadhavalātīkā* a work on Digambara philosophy by Vīrasenāchārya, a mathematical work called *Sārasaṁgraha* or *Gaṇitasārāsaṁgraha* by Vīrāchārya, and a treatise on moral subjects entitled *Prāśnottara-ratnamālikā,* the authorship of which is attributed to Amoghavarsha himself. In short it is said of Amoghavarsha I that he was the greatest patron of Digambara Jainism and that he adopted Jaina faith. In the reign of Kṛshna II his subjects and tributary chiefs either built or made grants to Jaina temples already built, doubtless under his patronage, and the *Jaina purāṇa (Mahā-purāṇa)* was consecrated in Śaka 820 by Lokasena, the pupil of Guṇabhadra.

The Chālukyas of Kalyāni who succeeded the Rāshṭrakūṭas in 974 A.D. after the last Rāshṭrakūṭa was defeated by Taila II (973-997 A.D.) were not so favourable to Jainism "and at times persecuted them". Śaiva opposition was getting stronger and the kings themselves were slowly coming under the sway of Śaivism. Thus, for instance, Jayasimha II (1018-1042 A.D.), the successor of Vikramāditya V (1009-1018 A.D.) and grandson of Taila II. is said to have persecuted the Jainas after being himself converted from Jainism to Śaivism at the instance of his wife Suggaladevī. The story of such persecution is narrated in the *Basava Purāṇa* and in the *Chenna Basava Purāṇa.* But his successor Āhavamalla Someśvara I (1042-68 A.D.) appears to have been a good patron of Jainism as evidenced by an inscription at *Śravaṇa Belgola* which states that "the Jaina teacher Svāmi won the title of *Śabda-Chaturmukha* at the hands of King Āhavamalla."

It has been more often supposed that the Chōla kings persecuted the Jainas. This does not appear to be generally true as will

be seen from a study of the Chōla inscriptions in the Jaina temples at Tiruparuttikunram.

Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala (1156—67A.D.), the founder of the Kalachurya dynasty, who was himself a Jaina to start with and had in his grants the figure of Tīrthankara engraved, came under the evil influence of his minister Basava, the founder of the Lingāyat sect, who prevailed on his master to persecute and even exterminate the Jainas. When Basava found that Bijjala did not fully agree with him in his campaign of hatred nor approved of the methods that he had adopted to persecute the Jainas he had the king murdered stealthily. This was followed by a period of terror and bloodshed "that spread as far as the kingdom of the Chōlas and the Hoysalas."

The Hoysalas, whose kingdom included modern Mysore, were staunch Jainas. Vinayāditya II (1047-1100 A.D.), the first historical person of this dynasty owed his rise to power to a Jaina ascetic named Śāntideva. Śāntalādevī, the wife of Vishnuvardhana alias Bitti (1111-1141 A.D.), was a lay disciple of a Jaina teacher, Prabhāchandra, while Vishnuvardhana's minister Gangarāja and Hulla, a minister of Narasimha I (1143-73 A.D.) are specifically cited as "two out of three very special promoters of the Jaina faith". Thus there seems to be no doubt that the early Hoysalas were Jainas and that the later Hoysalas from Bitti onwards were converted to Vaishnavism mainly because of Rāmānuja's personality. Bitti, who was perhaps the greatest ruler of the dynasty, was "a fervent militant Jaina down to the time when he was converted to Vaishnavism by Rāmānuja." an event which came to happen by a miracle as Vaishṇava literature has it. Much reliance cannot be placed on the traditional account that the new convert persecuted the Jainas, being directed to do so by Rāmānuja, for we learn that his wife Śāntalādevī remained a Jaina and continued to make grants to the Jainas with the king's consent, and that Gangarāja, his minister, whose services for Jainism are

well known. continued to enjoy the king's favour. Moreover he himself is said to have endowed and repaired Jaina temples and to have afforded protection to Jaina images and priests. It is claimed for Vishnuvardhana—the name adopted by him after his conversion—that his reign was one of great toleration that continued even during the reigns of his successors. His successors, though themselves Vaishṇavites, are said to have built Jaina temples (*bastis*) and to have protected Jaina *Āchāryas*. Such are for instance Narasimha I (1143-73 A.D.), Vīra Ballāla II (1173-1220 A.D.) and Narasimha III (1254-91 A.D.)

The Vijayanagara kings were always noted for their highly tolerant attitude towards religions and were therefore patrons of Jainism too. Bukka I (1357-1377-8 A.D.), is spoken of for the Jaina-Vaishṇava compact that he was able to effect during his reign. This by itself speaks for the patronage that Jainism received at the hands of the early kings of Vijayanagara. Bimādevi, the queen of Deva Rāya I, is said to have been a disciple of a Jaina teacher Abhinava-Chārukīrti-Paṇḍitāchārya and to have installed an image of Śāntinātha at *Śrāvaṇa* Belgola. We shall have occasion to speak of the faith of Irugappa, the general of Bukka II (1385-1406 A.D.) and of the toleration of the greatest of the Vijayanagara kings, Kṛshṇadeva Rāya (1510-1529 A.D.) when describing the temples at Tiruparuttikunram [Jina Kāñchī]. Almost all the rulers down to Rāma Rāya made grants to Jaina temples and were tolerant enough.

Such has also been the attitude of the feudatory and minor rulers under the Vijayanagara kings and of the ruling house of Mysore towards Jainism, an attitude which luckily continued down to the present day. It is said that some of the minor powers like the rulers of Gersoppa and the Bhairavas of Kārkala "professed the Jaina faith and left monuments of importance in the history of Jaina art."

It will thus be clear that whatever dynasty was master of the land, Jainism was likely to receive support from it. There seems, however, to be no evidence of such continuous support to Buddhism. The fall of the Kalachurya dynasty in the Dekkhan was perhaps a death blow to South Indian Jainism. But we find that it continued to flourish even after that in the Tuluva country. It has been rightly contended that for well nigh a millennium and half. Jainism was "quite alive and active" and that "even now, unlike Buddhism, it has a considerable number of followers in the South, no less than in the North."

14 : TRICHINOPOLY

ANCIENT NAME OF TRICHINOPOLY : At Trichinopoly which was visited during the year, some interesting discoveries were made. Its ancient name as found in the hymns of Jñānasambandha in the *Devaram* is *Chirāpaḷḷi* and the same occurs also in the long verse inscription of about the 11th century A.D. engraved in the Pallava cave on the hill. This name was in vogue for several centuries in inscriptions as well as in literature, until the time of the Vijayanagara rulers, in a few of whose records, however, the form *'Tiruchchināpaḷḷi'* was sometimes used, and this has given rise to the modern Anglicised name *'Trichinopoly'*. The word *palli* appears to have, in this case, special reference to its association with the Jaina religion, ancient vestiges of which have now been discovered here.

CAVERN WITH BEDS AND EPIGRAPHS AT TRICHINOPOLY : Behind the huge boulder which contains the shrine of god Uchchi-Pillaiyāra on the top of the fort-rock at this

place, an overhanging rock forms a recessed cavern which contains early Jaina vestiges. On the platform under this rock there are planned out several stone beds provided, in some cases, with pillows shaped out of the stone. The beds which are about 4′ long and 1½′ wide may be considered to be rather cramped for comfortable sleeping. A few of the stone pillows show traces of obliterated writing of about the 5th century A.D., recording possibly the names of the occupants of the beds who were probably Jaina ascetics who had repaired to the caves for the performance of austerities. One of these bears, the name *'Chirā'*, the bearer of which was perhaps a monk of repute and possibly the settlement was called *Tiruchirāppaḷḷi* after him. On the way leading to this cavern, on the northern slope of the hill, is engraved in Brāhmi characters of the 2nd century B.C., one line of writing which may be read as *'Kūpagaghari'*, meaning probably "a cavern or cave going in like a well."

In three or four places on the ledge of the rock leading to the cavern is deeply cut a label which reads *'KAṀṬṬUHU'* (evidently meant for Kaṁṭṭuḥ) in characters of about the 7th century A.D. In three cases, a different label in early script is also engraved faintly below this word, giving the names *'Amitānam (ta)'*, *'Gatadōṣa'* and *'Kaiyviḷakku'* . In two places are found the words *ṬAṀCHAHARA(KA)* and *'Sēnataṇḍan'*. The script in which the label *'Kaṁṭṭuhu'* is engraved resembles that of a few labels on one of the pillars in the Pallava rock-cut Śiva temple just below this cavern. The form of the label, which may be interpreted as a Sanskritised Telugu word meaning 'enemy', also suggests that like many other similar titles of Mahēndravarman, this may also have been his ***biruda***. Śaiva tradition as embodied in the *Periyapurāṇam* avers that a Pallava king named Guṇabhara who was originally a Jaina was converted to Śaivisim by the efforts of Saint Appar, and that thereupon this ardent royal convert built many Śiva temples throughout his do-

minions for the propagation of his new faith. This king has been identified with the Pallava Mahēndravarman I who bore the title 'Guṇabhara'. The word *'Kaṁṭṭuhu'* is engraved at four different places along the precipitous approach. After his conversion to Śaivism the king may have excavated the rock-cut temple of Śiva called *Lalitāṅkura-Pallavēśvara-gṛham*, wherein in a Sanskrit verse engraved on the beam of the *Verāndāh*, he has emphatically expressed his adherence to the Śaiva creed and describes all other religious faiths, as *vipaksha-vṛtti*.* The word *'Taṁchahara(ka)'* can be interpreted as a title of Mahēndraverman and to mean 'he who captured Tañcha (Tanjore)'. From the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, we know that Siṁhavishṇu, the father of Mahēndravarman, claimed to have conquered the Chōlas, and in support of this fact, it may be pointed out that Kañjaṇūr in the Tanjore district bore the surname Siṁhavishṇu-chaturvēdimangalam in Chōḷa times, testifying to its connection with the king of this name. As Pallava influence began to be felt in the Chōla territory only from this period, it is possible that Mahēndravarman who may have participated in this southern expedition in the company of his father had adopted this title.

On the stone platform of the same cavern is found the expression *'Svastī Srī Rājēndra'* of the fuller name Rājēndra-Chōladēva in Grantha characters atrtibutable to the 11th century A.D. while close to it is another complete inscription in characters of the same period consisting of a Sanskrit verse, containing an announcement by a certain *Vādipraḷaya-Bhairava* of his arrival at this place after having vanquished disputants and after having visited Karnāṭa-maṇḍala. It is not clear if he was a Jaina ascetic, but

*T. N. Ramachandran. "The royal artist Mahendravarman I," 56. The king was no convert to any faith but perhaps a convert to Art, Muses, etc.

it may be mentioned, however, that the title 'a Bhairava of disputants' was borne by Jaina monks also.*

15. TIRUPARUTTIKUNRAM OR JINA-KĀÑCHĪ.

The Digambara Jainas of the Tamil country speak of four seats of learning (*Vidyāsthānas or Chatus-simhāsanas),* those being Kollāpura, Jina-Kāñchīpura, Penukoṇḍa and Delhi. The Mysore Jainas have a different list. Burgess suggested that Jina-Kāñchīpura was perhaps the present Chittānūr in South Arcot District. But the local tradition associating the name of Jina-Kāñchīpura with the village of Tiruparuttikunram, the high repute of Kāñchī as a seat of learning (*Ghaṭikā-Sthāna*) from very early times, and the reference in many other Jaina texts and traditions to Kāñchīpura as one of the *Vidyāsthānas,* warrant the identification of the present village of Tiruparuttikunram with Jina-Kāñchī. The *mutts* at Delhi and Penukoṇḍa are not traceable now.

The monuments of Conjeevaram (Kāñchi) bear testimony to the fact that the city was a stronghold of people of various religions from very early times. Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, each in its turn, had powerful hold over the city and have left unmistakable marks of their influence. According to Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Conjeevaram in about 640 A.D., "Kāñchi is as old as Buddha, Buddha converted its people, Dharmapāla Bodhisattva was born there, and Aśoka built several *stūpas* in its neighbourhood". He further states that the "Jainas were very numerous in his day," and that "Buddhism and Brahmanism were about on a par".

*A. R. S. I. E. 1938. p. 78.

In the early stages Jaina influence existed side by side with that of Buddhism. The *Sthalapurāṇa* of nearly every temple in Conjeevaram confirms the belief of the people that "Conjeevaram was for ages a Buddhist and afterwards a Jaina town."

This takes us to the very interesting question of the religious history of Tiruparuttikunram which is as interesting as its secular one, and is equally rich for the reason that a place like Jina-Kāñchīpuram, one of the *Vidyāsthānas* sacred to the Jainas cannot be otherwise. A study of the local traditions, and of the inscriptions in the temple and on the *samādhi* pedestals reveals a regular heirarchy of sages who figure in some of these inscriptions as master (*guru*) and disciple (*śiṣya*). Their main work appears to have been propagation of the Digamabra Jaina religion. With erudite scholarship some of these sages combined rare tact and accommodation to other faiths like Hinduism, which stood them in good stead, for they not only secured for their religion the patronage of the king of the land, but also protected them from Hindu fury. By slow degrees these sages began to acquire, apart from the religious hold that they already had, much political influence in the country.

Jaina contribution to the literature of South India is rich, most of its contributors being religious enthusiasts. From *Maṇimekalai* and *Silappadikāram*, two Tamil epics of the Sangam age, we learn that the Jainas were roughly divided into two sections the *munis* or ascetics such as those at Jina-Kāñchī, and the *Śrāvakas* i.e., laymen. The most scholarly among these enthusiasts grouped themselves into various *saṅghas* or monastic orders or communities for an effective propagation of the faith. Each *saṅgha* was divided into many *gaṇas* and each *gaṇa* into many *gachchhas*. There are four *saṅghas* which characterise the Digambara church, viz,. (1) *Nandi* (2) *Sena,* (3) *Deva,* and (4) *Simha saṅghas.* From inscriptions we learn that a *saṅgha* called the *Dramila saṅgha*, probably the one that established itself at Madura,

was the most important of all these *saṅghas,* and that one of its *gaṇas,* the *Nandigaṇa* was famous in the history of South Indian Jainism.

It is not strange that we find at Tiruparuttikunram a regular heirarchy of *gurus* and *śiṣyas* for we learn from the Śravaṇa Belgola inscriptions, (Nos. 47, 54, 105, 108 and 145), that the system of this heirarchy commenced from the time of Chandragupta Maurya (300 B.C.). It need hardly be said here that Śravaṇa Belgola where the colossal statue of Bāhubali, the son of the first *Tīrthaṅkara* stands, was likely to abound in information concerning the succession of apostles and other gurus and teachers. According to the Śravaṇa Belgola inscriptions the first *guru* or *Yatīndra* was Kuṇdakunda Āchārya, then came Umāsvāmi, the compiler of the *Tattvārtha-sūtra,* Gridhrapiñchchha and his disciple Balākapiñchchha. After him came the famous Samantabhadra whose name has gone down in the history of Digambara Jainism in gold letters. According to tradition his date is 138 A.D.

All writers on South Indian Jainism and Sanskrit literature are agreed in acclaiming with one voice that Samantabhadra's appearance in South India marks an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara Jainism but also in the history of Sanskrit literature. After Samantabhadra came several *munis* or ascetics who continued the work of propaganda and organised the Jaina community into convenient classes and enriched the literature of the land. Chief among them were Siṃhanandi, who, according to tradition founded the state of Gangavādi, Pūjyapāda, the author of *Jinendra Vyākaraṇa,* and Akalaṅka more closely connected with Kāñchī than the others, for it is said of him that in about 788 A.D. he confuted in discussion the Buddhists at the Court of King Sāhasatuṅga Himaśītala at Kāñchī, and besides converting the king to Jainism secured with his aid the expulsion of the Buddhists from Kāñchī and from South India to Ceylon.

To the people at Tiruparuttikunram the tradition regarding Akalaṅka alone is fresh in their minds while the earlier *munis* and the later ascetics are almost forgotten. It is easy to understand this for the tradition regarding Akalaṅka is kept alive at a neighbouring Jaina village called Tiruppaṇamūr, about twelve miles from Kāñchī. where a big stone mortar in the local temple is explained by the temple priests as the one employed by Akalaṅka to pound the vanquished aliens, and a sculpture on the compound wall of the temple in front of the said mortar showing a Jaina ascetic in the attitude of preaching, as illustrating the propaganda work of the sage who told the people around that Jainism was superior to all other religions, that much virtue would accrue as a result of being a Jaina and that if any one should insist on continuing to be an alien in spite of his preachings the mortar would grind him in no time.

Nothing but their names is known of the sages subsequent to Akalaṅka who flourished in or about Tiruparuttikunram, till we come to 1199 A.D. The temple inscriptions and those at *Aruṇagiri-meḍu* fortunately threw light on some more sages. Thus for instance inscriptions Nos. 3 and 22* speak of a *guru* called Chandrakīrti who flourished at Tiruparuttikunram and whose remains have been interred at Aruṇagiri-meḍu and a *samādhi* erected over them there. In the former inscription dated 1199 A.D. the gift of twenty *vēlis* of land in the village of Ambi to the temple is received from Kulottunga III, to whom the recipients made clear that the temple at Tiruparuttikunram deserved his patronage because there lived in it their *guru*, Chandrakīrti. The king not only gave twentdy *vēlis* of land to the temple but also gave Chandrakīrti the title "the āchārya of Koṭṭaiyūr" in token of his appreciation of the latter's

* T. N. Ramachandran, "Tiruparuttikunram and its temples". pp. 50, 61.

learning and work. In inscription No. 22 which is found at *Aruṇagiri-meḍu,* the same Chandrakīrti is referred to as the spiritual *guru* of another sage who flourished at Tiruparuttikunram, the latter being known as Anantavīrya Vāmana.* In the present state of our knowledge of the Jaina heirarchy we are not able to identify the Chandrakīrti referred to, and the local Jainas are unable to help on this point ; other lists found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa are not helpful. There is, of course, a Chandrakīrti in the list of Jaina *āchāryas* available from *the Āndhra-Karṇāṭa-deśa,* and he is placed there between two other āchāryas, Kanakakīrti Deva, who figures in one of the *misidhi* inscriptions from Dānavulapādu now exhibited in the Madras Museum, and Bhaṭṭāraka Jinachandra. It will be too much to see any connection between our Chandrakīrti (1199A.D.) and the one mentioned above, as the latter should be placed in the tenth century, the date of the *nisidhi* speaking of Chandrakīrti's predecessor Kanakakīrti Deva being assigned on sure grounds to 910-917 A.D. Thus our Chandrakīrti is a different person who lived and died at Tiruparuttikunram itself.

Inscriptions No. 18 and No. 22* relate to Anantavīrya Vāmana, another sage who was a disciple of Chandrakīrti. The former is found on a *balipīṭha* to the north-east of the *kora* tree inside the temple, and the latter on a *samādhi* slab at *Aruṇagiri-meḍu.* While the former merely says that the *balipīṭha* belongs to Anantavīrya thereby meaning that worship was intended for him in the manner known to the temple *archakas, viz,* placing ablutions (*bali*) on the pedestal (the belief being that the spirit of the sage will feed on it), the latter clearly records that the slab was erected in memory of the said sage who had the unique honour of counting Chadrakīrti as his spiritual guru. Nothing more is known about this sage from the temple records or from

* T. N. Ramachandran, *Ibid,* p. 60-61.

local tradition. One of the cells in the *Munivāsa* of the temple is assigned to him, another being assigned to his *guru,* Chandra-*kīrti.*

We are entirely in the dark about the identity of Ananta-vīrya Vāmana. But we know that he comes after Chandra-kīrti who figures in Kulottunga III's inscription dated 1199 A.D., and consequently should be placed a few years later than Chandra-kīrti, say, the middle of the thirteenth century. A study of the list of Jaina *āchāryas,* as available from the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa-deśa,* reveals an Anantavīrya Deva who is placed between Bhavanandi and Amarakīrti Āchārya. Though this Anantavīrya Deva might possibly be our Anantavīrya Vāmana, for there is nothing in their dates to disprove the identity, the absence of any mention in the *Āndhra-Karṇāṭa* list of his association with Tiruparuttikunram precludes the possibility of such an identification.

The next sage in the temple of whom we have clear information both from the temple records and from Jaina literature is Malliṣeṇa Vāmana. Inscriptions Nos. 9, 15 and 24* speak of him. In No. 9 he is referred to as Malliṣeṇa *Vāmana-sūri,* the preceptor of *Puṣpaseṇa-munipuṅgava-Vāmana.* In No. 24 which represents the *samādhi* of Puṣpaseṇa, he is again called the preceptor of Puṣpasena and is referred to by the name Malliṣeṇa. In No. 15 which is a verse exclusively in praise of him, he is called Malliṣeṇa, his spiritual name being Vāmana. Here it should be remembered that great teachers and writers on works of religion, philosophy, etc., are termed Vāmanas, the term *Vāmana* going with scholarship. And Malliṣeṇa, as the local tradition proves, was more known by the term *Vāmana* than even by his name Malliṣeṇa. He was a man of letters, held in high repute in his times, and was the author of several works

* T. N. Ramachandran, *Ibid,* pp. 58-59. 62.

written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil. From one of his works in Tamil, entitled "Merumandara Purāṇam," from which I frequently drew for my understanding of some of the paintings in the temple, we learn that he knew Sanskrit and Prakrit too among languages, and Jaina and other systems in thought. The fact that he commences the *Merumandara Purāṇa* as *"Tamiḻāl onṛu śollaluṛṛēṇ,"* i.e., "I narrate here one in Tamil" (verse No. 2) shows that the preceding works of his should have been written in a language other than Tamil, say Sanskrit. His Sanskrit learning won for him the title of *"Ubhaya-bhāṣā-kavi-chakravartī"* or the poet-monarch of two languages.." Some of his works known are commentaries to Sanskrit works on philosophy such as *Pañchāstikāya, Pravachanasāra, Samayasāra,* and *Syādvādamañjarī, Merumandara Purāṇa* and *Samayadivākara,* which is a commentary to a Tamil work called *Nilakeśitiraṭṭu.* While his disciple Puṣpasena, about whom we shall presently speak, appears to have acquired political importance, being associated with Irugappa the general of Bukka II (1385-1406 A.D.), he seems to have acquired importance in the literary field. The high regard that Puṣpasena had for him is manifest in all Puṣpasena's inscriptions here. In No. 9 he calls himself Malliseṇa's devoted pupil and in No. 24 he calls himself rather poetically, "the bee that hovers over the lotus-feet of Śrī Malliṣeṇa."* Tradition associates him with the construction of the whole temple. Though this cannot be correct it still illustrates the extreme regard and importance that the Jainas of the place had for this sage. Besides assigning him a cell in the *Munivāsa,* the people have built a *balipīṭha* for him. This they have placed in the niche on the north wall of the Chōla verāndah under the inscription containing a verse in praise of him in order to connect the said inscription with the sage himself. Worship

* *Ibid*, p. 67.

is offered to this *balipīṭha* even to-day as also to a similar one placed on a brick pedestal below it which is intended for Puṣpasena, his disciple. One of the pedestals in the *samādhi* at *Aruṇagiri-meḍu*, which is curiously enough not inscribed, is, I was told, intended for him.

As regards the date of this sage there is a silent but sure indication. Irugappa, whose inscriptions are dated 1382 and 1387-88 A.D., speaks of his devotion to Puṣpasena, whose disciple he styles himself to be, but is silent about his attitude towards Malliṣeṇa. the *guru* of his *guru*. His silence can mean only one thing, and that is, that at the time of the advent of Irugappa to the temple Malliṣeṇa was dead. Thus he comes after Anantavīrya Vāmana and before the advent of Irugappa, and may therefore be assigned to the earlier half of the fourteenth century.

Now we come to the illustrious Puṣpasena who appears to have wielded considerable political influence in his time. The Vijayanagara kings patronised him as a result of the hold that he had over Irugappa, the general and minister of Bukka II and the sage was not slow in taking advantage of royal patronage. He prevailed on his royal disciple Irugappa to do the constructions in the temple and elsewhere (Vijayanagara city) referred to in inscriptions Nos. 7 and 9.* In the latter inscription the sage himself is cited as the author of the super-structure of the *gopura*. Inscriptions Nos. 7, 9, 23 and 24 relate to Puṣpasena. Nos. 23 and 24 are found on the *samādhi* altar, the former giving his name and the latter invoking his blessings for the salvation of the suffering humanity. It is strange that two pedestals containing inscriptions of Puṣpasena should be found in the *samādhi* altar, while there is no pedestal there of Chandrakīrti, the first sage in our list. If we remember that there are two other *bali-*

Ibid, pp. 57-8.

pīṭhas or pedestals within the temple itself, both uninscribed, one in front of the *kora* tree and the other below the *balipīṭha* intended for Malliṣeṇa, and that they are similar to the ones in the *samādhi*, it is obvious that some of these uninscribed and similar pedestals should have been changed or misplaced at some time or other. Much prominence is attached to Puṣpaseṇa in the local tradition probably because of his political influence. A cell is assigned to him in the *Munivāsa* and worship is done to him much in the same way as is done to Malliṣeṇa. As regards his accomplishments, both spiritual and literary, inscriptions 9 and 24 are helpful. In the former he is called Vāmana, "a bull among sages" (*munipuṅgava*) and is given the title "paravādimalla' which means "a successful opponent of his enemies in discussion". In the latter his devotion to Malliṣeṇa is stressed and his blessings are invoked for the benefit of the suffering surging humanity.

The fact that the *samādhi* pedestal of Puṣpaseṇa is bigger than the others and that it is placed in the centre of the others and contains a bigger inscription bears testimony to the greater importance of the sage, in whose memory the pedestal arose. This pedestal appears to be the last in the collection of pedestals in the *samādhi*, and this fact gives room to the surmise that probably subsequent to Puṣpaseṇa there were not similar sages in the place or, if there were any, did not acquire importance in the manner that their predecessors like Malliṣeṇa and Puṣpaseṇa acquired. Otherwise their *samādhis* should also be expected.

The *Munivāsa* in the temple which contains five cells has still one cell to be accounted for, the other four cells being intended for the spirits of Chandrakīrti, Anantavīrya Vāmana, Mallisena Vāmaṇa and Puṣpaseṇa Vāmana. The name of the fifth is not preserved for us to-day either in the temple inscriptions or in the local traditions. He may most probably be one who had preceded Chandrakīrti, whose name has not come down to us.

PAINTING:

Very few early remains of Jaina painting of importance have survived. The remains of frescoes in the Jogimare cave in Ramgarh hills in Orissa may be of Jaina origin. There are traces of paintings in one of the Jaina caves near Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa. The Sittannavāsal frescoes to be discussed later are Jaina and are related to the Ajanta and Bagh frescoes in technique but they have no relationship to the miniature paintings of Jaina manuscripts. There is no apparent foreign element in Jaina sculpture. Their achievements in architecture and sculpture in a later period excite wonder by their beauty, technical perfection and magnificent ornamentation. That such a race of artists should produce great works in painting was to be expected.

According to the custom prevailing among the Jainas "to carve ceilings with the principal incidents in the life of the Jina, to whom the main shrine or a corridor cell is dedicated," the ceiling of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *sangīta-maṇḍapa* in the Trailokyanātha or Vardhamāna temple at Tiruparutti-kunram bears a series of coloured paintings which, as has already been remarked, illustrate the life stories of three out of the twenty-four Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

Though art-critics have much to say against this practice of "colour-washing" from the point of art, as convention plays a great part in such paintings, it has nevertheless to be welcomed as it gives an easy means of reading the life-stories of the gods of the Jaina pantheon without being forced to listen to narratives from the people who may know them or to look into the Jaina *purāṇas*, the majority of which are unfortunately still in manuscript form. This practice of colour washing and painting, which Mrs. Stevenson calls "the modern craze", has evidently taken the place of the craze for stone carvings which was customary from the early centuries, beginning perhaps with the Pallava king

(600-30 A.D)

Mahendravarman I, and points to a decadence in sculpturing and architecture. Viewed from the point of usefulness, these paintings should certainly be welcomed and this practice has spread to Hindu temples also. Even a non-Jaina is so impressed with the various incidents illustrated in these that he seldom forgets them or fails to identify them again. They form as it were visualized books of Jaina Mythology and iconography presenting their details in an easy and interesting manner. The idea underlying this practice, as explained to me by one of the painters at Trichinopoly who was then working in the *Mātṛbhūteśvara* temple, is economy. This work is cheaper than that of stone carving, which is much more laborious. And the paintings, I was given to understand, were to be renewed if the colours faded. Failure to renew them has resulted in the fading and disappearance of many at Tiruparuttikunram which has encouraged us to place them on record before they get completely lost.*

16. SITTANNAVĀSAL

Examples of South Indian Jaina painting are many, dating from early times such as the 7th century A.D. down to modern times. The most important as well as the most interesting from the artistic stand point are the fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the Jaina cave temple at Sittannavāsal, dating from the 7th century A.D. and assigned to the Pallava king Mahendravarman I

The rock-cut temple here is identical with that at Māmaṇḍūr. As it has not been figured yet in works of Pallava architecture I attempt to give here a description of its architecture which is

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* Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples by T. N. Ramachandran Published by the Madras Museum. 1934; plates VI-XXX.

luckily simple and elegant. There are the usual four pillars supporting the roof of the cave, two standing in the middle and the other two, those at the ends, being embedded on the side of the cave, so that a portion of each alone projects. The central pillars are square in section with the usual octagonal belt in the centre and support capitals which present horizontal flutings. The capitals support the architrave, a long flat beam, which in turn supports a projecting cornice. On either side of the cave is a niche in which is seated the figure of a Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* carved in high relief, of almost life size. The back wall is divided into symmetrical compartments by ornamental pilasters, in the centre of which a plain entrance into the inner cell is located. A pair of steps flanked by *śuruḷ-yāḷis* leads to the entrance of sufficient relief which opens into a cell, cubical in plan, with plain walls, and showing signs of having been once covered with paintings. On the side opposite to the entrance and facing the latter can be seen three seated figures in a row. These three, together with the two outside on the side-niches, are seated in the "*samparyaṅka*" pose with the legs crossed and the palms placed on the lap, one over the other — a pose specially prescribed for the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkarās*. It was Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil that started characterising this cave temple as Jaina. Though several other writers did not agree with him the fact remains that Mahendravarman built that cave temple for his Jaina subjects. The identification receives support from the following facts. The Jainas require often such caves for the performance of severe austerities such as the *sallekhanā*. The place of the *dvārapālas* in this cave is taken by two *Tīrthaṅkaras*, both cross-legged and in the *yogic* pose. One of them has a curve over his head which may be taken to be the *chhatra* or more probably the disc of the moon *(chandra-kalā)* (Plate 4). If the latter is possible, then the image may be taken to represent Chandraprabha, the 8th *Tīrthaṅkara*. The identity of the other *Tīrthaṅkara* on the other side of the entrance

is very clear. The cross-legged figure in the *yogic* pose has the serpent with five hoods over its head, a feature which marks Pārśvanātha out easily (Plate 5). Though *Supārśvanātha*, the 7th *Tīrthaṅkara*, ought also to have this distinguishing mark, the absence of the *svastika* in this case, which as we know is an additional mark required for Supārśvanātha, proves beyond any doubt that Pārśvanātha was alone intended. The three other *Tīrthaṅkaras* inside the cell remain for the present unidentified, in the absence of the *lāñchhanas* appropriate to them. But, as they are all in the *samparyaṅka* attitude, with no trace of any kind of drapery or ornament or the *yajñopavīta* on them, a feature shared by the two others outside, we have no hesitation in calling them all *Tīrthaṅkaras* and the cave itself a Jaina cave. The carving of these sculptures is marvellous for its precision and excellence of anatomy. The figures are natural and carry themselves with a grace though in a erect posture 'like a flame that flickereth not in windless space.'

The surface of the rock inside has been given a finish to suit it for the subsequent fresco-process. "The figures carved are not finished as such, for that was left to the painter's plaster and brush". The cave was intended, even when it was actually carved, to be painted over inside. The paintings must have originally covered the whole of the interior as there are traces of colour today on the ceiling, the pillars and their capitals.

Its Painting

From a verse, *"Saiveyam mama citrakarmaracanā bhittim vinā vartate"* found in the well-known Sanskrit drama *"Mudrā-Rākṣasa"* by Viśākhadatta of the 6th Century A.D. we get to know that *"Bhitti-citra"* i.e., wall or fresco-painting

was very popular as otherwise it could not have been drawn for literary metaphors. *Citra-lepya-kṛts* or fresco-painters are referred to by poet Rājaśekhara of 900 A.D. as being assigned seats by the side of poets of Apabhraṁśa language in the court-halls of kings. It would thus appear that they were assigned a high position in society which "is an index of the popularity of the art of painting. *Bhitti-citra* was in fact such a noble hobby of even ruling monarchs that a few manuscripts, out of a horde of several of them that have luckily escaped destruction we get to appreciate their proficiency in painting. To those earlier standard works on the subject such as Nārada's "*Sarasvatī* and *Brahmā*", and the "*Citrasūtra*" chapters of the "*Viṣṇudharmottara*" we have to add the later royal contributions such as the Western Cālukya king Someśvara's immortal "*Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi*" dating from the 12th century and the still later or to speak correctly modern "*Śiva-tattva-ratnākara*" compiled from earlier works on the subject by the Keladi chief Basavarāja (1709 A.D.). The 6th *kallola, 2nd taraṅga,* of the last mentioned work introduces us to "*bhitti-citra*" in the palace-hall where the king has very ably analysed the subject as follows :-

VV. 2-74.
1. How to prepare *vajralepa,* pens and brushes for painting.
2. Selection of colours to suit different themes.
3. Description of natural (original) and artifiicial (mixed) colours.
4. Artificial colour—its ingredients.
5. Anatomy of pictures—measurements of the *avayavas* and parts of pictures.

VV. 75-81.
1. Classification of pictures.
2. Places best suited for painting different kinds thereof..

VV. 82-161. Measurements of pictures in general and of their *avayavas* in particular.

The whole subject is dealt with in 160 verses in a chapter which the author characterises as *"Varṇasamyojana,, Citralekhana, pratimā-lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇam"*.

Having had a peep into those early *citra-śālās* or picture galleries, thanks to the innumerable literary references attesting to their existence, it is our pleasant task now to examine the fresco paintings at Sittannavāsal with a view to find out how best the cave answered the description of a *Citra-śālā* or picture-gallery.

Being the most perishable of the fine arts the painting in this cave has suffered a good deal owing to age and age-long neglect and indifference darkening of the interior of the cave by smoke from the fire of way-side wandering pilgrims who appear to have cooked their food in, the peeling off of the plaster here and there owing of course to neglect and the almost horrible vandalism to which it has been subjected at the hands of cattle-boys, the natives of the soil and the over-zealous census recorder. This vandalism has been described by Mr. M. S. S. Sarma, who has made beautiful copies of the remaining frescoes (some of which are figured by Mehta in his *"Studies in Indian Painting"*) as follows : "....much of what remains intact has been also darkened by smoke from fires lit in the cave by resting *bairāgis*. Balls of dung have been freely hurled at the ceiling; evidently the village urchins must have used the picture on the ceiling as a good target for their balls of dung and clay, which can now be seen sticking here and there! Any attempt to remove them brings away the plaster too, so that they are better left there to tell there tale.... With regard to the very facet of the pillar wherein is located the dancing figure...., the delicate brush lines of the master-artist have been marred ruthlessly by the crude brush, probably of the census enumerator whose only paint is black tar, with the result that you find there, in hideous prominence, the figure 165 with something more added on to it." Surely the entire cave must have been

covered with paintings, for traces of paint are seen everywhere inside the dark cave "as you become more and more familiar with the contents of the cave". Even as in Māmaṇḍūr and at Mahābalipuram the sculptures in the cave reveal traces of plaster and colour. The credit of discovering these paintings ought strictly to go to the late lamented Gopinatha Rao, who communicated his discovery to his scholar friend, Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who forthwith drew the attention of the world by means of a leaflet and an article in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. LII, pp. 45-47) with a tracing of the outline of a well-preserved dancing figure. With his remarkable precision in judgment and the instinct of a born archæologist he was able to determine that ".... 1. The process of Pallava painting is similar to that of the Ajanta paintings.

2. The painting of the Pallavas was, perhaps, even more beautiful than their sculpture.

3. The Śittannavāśal cave is a Jain temple". After closely examining the Sittannavāsal paintings and sculptures we have only to conclude that the Professor is remarkably correct in his estimation. The sculptures which represent *Tīrthaṅkaras* have been already examined. The paintings alone remain.

Before taking to a study of these it is interesting to note that the name of the place, Sittannavāsal is so un-Tamilian that to explain its derivation we have to look to its Sanskrit or Prākṛit form. In Sanskrit it will be "*Siddhānam vāsaḥ*" i.e., the abode of the *Siddhas* or ascetics and in Prākṛit "*Siddhaṇṇa-vāsa*". As we know that the Jainas and the Buddhists had a special leaning towards Prākṛit culturally we shall take the Prākṛit form as the nucleus of the modern Tamil name of the place, Sittannavāsal. The term "*siddha*" is of special value to us for our study for we know that the "*siddhas*" occupy a pre-eminent place in Jaina iconography and worship. Among the *pañcha-namaskāras* that every follower of the Jaina faith should make the second *namaskār* is reserved for the "*Siddhas*". And in Jaina cosmology the

highest place or heaven (to use a common and popular term) is spoken of as the *siddhaloka,* the occupants of which are the *siddhas* or the liberated souls whom even the *Tīrthaṅkaras* worship prior to initiation (*dīkṣā*). The Jaina ascetics of the place naturally required solitary places like the cave under discussion for the performance of their austerities and *dhyāna*. The rocky nature of the country afforded them ample cave-resorts, one of which was the one under discussion which was embellished with sculptures and paintings by a royal patron of rare artistic taste, who was probably drawn to the place either because of the sanctity of the place or because of his fervour for the Jaina religion.

Of those paintings of the place that are intact careful copies have been made by Mr. M. S. S. Sarma of Madras, some of which have been figured by Mehta in his book on *"Studies in Indian Painting"*. I have seen his copies in colour and was struck by their fidelity to the originals. They have been drawn to correct scale and have been properly toned.

The colours used are not many; those used are red, yellow, blue, green. black and white. While only one variety in each of black, green, blue and white pigments is found, red and yellow have two varieties each. Red has "red ochre" and "vermillion" and yellow "yellow ochre" and "bright golden".

The colour scheme is harmonious and simple, the colours being well soaked into the surface and given a final polish with probably small prepared pebbles. It is natural, without any elaborate attempt at light and shade. The backgrounds are mostly red or green. The paintings are essentially linear.* The linear draughtsmanship reveals a knowledge of anatomy and perspective far advanced.

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* They "began and ended with outlines, and the boldness and firmness displayed in them are really marvellous", "every form being brought out firmly by its decided outline". It has been supposed that the first out-

The chief decorative *motif* in the whole cave is the lotus with its stalk, leaf and flower. As Dr. Dubreuil has remarked in his "'*Pallava Painting*", "The decoration of the capitals of the two pillars of the façade is well preserved and consists of painted lotuses whose blooming stems intertwine with elegance", the pillars being adorned with the figures of dancing girls. The ceiling of the inner cell reveals a geometrical design, complicated, most of which has been unfortunately obliterated. Of those fragments that are luckily intact and have been copied by Mr. Sarma, that on the ceiling of the *verāndāḥ* is the most interesting. It is located in the centre of the ceiling and is flanked by two simple decorative panels with designs looking like carpets spread. A lotus tank in blossom with fishes, geese and other birds, animals such as buffaloes and bulls and elephants and three men, wading through, gathering lotus flowers, is the subject treated (Plate. 6). While the water of the tank alone is treated in a conventional manner the rest is done in a most natural, elegant and simple manner. The fishes and the geese play about in the tank here and there and recall a pleasant paradise. Lotus leaves are made to stand as the background of every lotus flower in bloom. Of the three men, whose pose, colouring and the "sweetness of their countenance are indeed charming" two stand close to each other while the

line here must have been done with red ockre as at Ajanta. an inference which is but natural as, in the case of such paintings, time, exposure, weather and natural decay would tend to obliterate everything else save the red outlines. But according to Mr. M. S. S. Sarma the execution here was different. "The cuncuma (*Kuṅkuma*) stem which Indian ladies use even to-day in their toilet is the thing that was used for the preliminary outline. The alkaline nature of the fresh ground converted the yellow of the stem into a rich red colour which was then fixed by outlines of different appropriate colours, thus parcelling out the ground for subsequent coats of colour. The outlines then were emphasised with suitable tints here and there.. When the surface moisture is gone, but when the ground is still damp, light shading by hatching and stippling is indulged in, and afterwards, before the ground completely dries up, the whole is given a polish with small prepared pebbles".

third stands alone at the right hand end of the fresco. The skin of two is dark-red in colour while that of the third is bright yellow or golden (Plates 1, 2 and 3).

While both Mehta and Sarma do not agree with Dr. Dubreuil who identifies the scene depicted as "probably from the religious history of the Jainas, we are of opinion that the French archæologist is seldom wrong in his surmises and if he errs at all he errs rather on the right side than on the wrong one. The scene depicted is one of the most attractive heavens that find a place in the "*Samavasaraṇa*" or heavenly pavilion created by Saudharmēndra for the Jina to sit and discourse, the moment that he becomes a "*kevalī*". Seated in the *Gandhakuṭi* within the "*Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa*," which in turn is in the centre of the whole *samavasaraṇa* structure, the *Tīrthaṅkara* or the Jina holds the divine discourse attended by all pomp. A *divyadhvani* emanтes from Him which is interpreted by the *Gaṇadharas,* the occupants of the first *koṣṭa* which is one of the 12 *koṣṭas* surrounding the seat of the Jina containing gods and goddesses, human beings, birds and beasts that had come to witness the grand scene of the Lord's discourse. The structure including the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa,* wherein the 12 *koṣṭas* or compartments are located, and the *Gandhakuṭi* with the Lord in it is surrounded by seven *bhūmis* or regions, each region being encircled by a rampart called *vedikā* or *sāla.* Those that are *bhavyas,* i.e., those good people who will have the good fortune to attend the Lord's discourse in the *samavasaraṇa* structure have to pass through these regions before they repair to their respective *koṣṭas* in the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa.* The second *bhūmi* or region is called the "*Khātikā-bhūmi*" or the region of the tank. According to the "*Śrīpurāṇa*" (a manuscript in Tamil-Grantha in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library), a work on Digambara Jaina iconography, this region is described as a delightful tank with fishes, birds, animals and men frolicking in it or playing in

it. The *bhavyas* are said to get down into the tank, wash their feet and please themselves as best as they can. And our painting shows this tank-region with those men pleasing themselves by gathering lotus flowers, while animals such as elephants and bulls and birds and fishes are frolicking about and pleasing themselves too as best as they can (Plate 6).

The other paintings in a tolerable state of preservation are two dancing figures on the cubical pillars that catch our eye as we enter the cave (Plate 2-b). They have been figured by Mehta in his book in plates 3 and 4. The one on the right side is not so well preserved as the one on the left, a sketch of which was published by Dr. Dubreuil in the Indian Antiquary. Vol. LII, p.46. From a sketch of the figure left out by Dr. Dubreuil but figured by Mehta in plate 4 of his book we can see that the left hand of the danseuse is stretched out gracefully in the *daṇḍa-hasta* pose. The left hand of the other figure (figured by Dr. Dubreuil) is thrown in the *gaja-hasta* pose. Both are treated with singular grace, their supple movements being rendered with ease, charm and sureness that could result only from the closest observation and aesthetic insight. Mr. Mehta was so much attracted by these danseuses that he bursts out as follows :- 'It was left to the artists of Southern India to crystallize into immortal form, the rhythm of dance and the energy of dynamic movement, as seen respectively in the glorious figures of swaying *Apsarās*, "loaded with jewelled ornaments, broad-hipped, narrow-waisted, powerful and graceful as panthers", and in the noble conception of Śiva as Naṭarāja-the Divine Dancer".

On the inner side of the right-hand pillar as we face the cave can be seen a beautiful head with traces of a figure in front and of a woman's head behind. It has been figured in plate I of Mehta's book. I examined the copy of Mr. Sarma which shows many more details than Mr. Mehta's. It is that of a splendid figure with an ornamental coronet or head-dress and with *patra-*

kuṇḍalas in both the ears. While we agree with Mr. Mehta's description of the figure as "an impressive study....showing the strength of delineation and directness of treatment which belonged to the palmy days of Ajantā and Bāgh" we are unable to accept his identification of the figure as Ardhanārīśvara or Mahādeva. The figure is surely that of a king accompanied by his wife whom he probably leads into the shrine. Such is the purpose in relegating this painting on the inner side of the pillar as if the persons are heading towards the interior of the shrine. The *patra-kuṇḍalas* and the ordinary coronet (not *jaṭā-mukuta* as Mehta described it to be) show that Śiva was not intended. And Śiva has no place in a Jaina shrine. We are unable to see in the figure any divinity of expression that should go as a monopoly to Śiva alone. Such dignity, if any, can go to the king of the land also, who in this case may be the royal artist Mahēndravarman I. That the figure behind him is that of his wife and that he is in the act of going with her to the shrine can be easily inferred if we bear in mind that the Varāha cave at Mahābalipuram contains a portrait of Mahēndravarman heading towards the shrine, accompanied by two of his queens, the nearer of whom he appears to be leading by her right hand, while his half-raised right hand points towards the shrine. He was probably similarly engaged here, though only the head of the king remains with the outline of what looks like a feminine face, which we have assumed to be that of his queen. Prof. A Chakravarti suggests that as the *Samavasaraṇa* forms the central theme of the paintings, the king may be taken to be Indra leading his wife Śachī to the *Samavasaraṇa*.

17. *TIRUMALAI.*—Next in time and importance come paintings at Tirumalai, North Arcot District ascribed on the evidence of inscription to the 11th Century A.D. (EI. vol. IX. P. 229:

Smith, History of Fine Arts in India & Ceylon p. 344). This place is clebrated for the worship of Mallinātha and Nēmiśvara (plate 7). Excellent carvings of Kushmāndinī, Dharmadevī, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra and inscriptions of Rāshṭrakūta king Kṛshṇa III (Regnal year 19) and of kings of the First Vijayanagara dynasty are noticeable here. What is of particular interest to the artist is the existence of paintings on walls and the ceilings of the temple here, which date from the 11th Century A.D. The scenes depicted are the *samavasaraṇa* of Nēminātha, particularly the *Lakshmīvaramaṇḍapa* with its twelve *koṣṭas,* geometrical patterns, inter-twining creepers, lotuses, rows of geese, lotus ponds and *kīrtimukhas.* A huge full-blown lotus (Viśva-padma) easily attracts one's attention as one enters. Scenes from the life of Agnilā and Varadatta are also depicted. While the rock carvings (Pls. 8 and 9) recall the best sculpture of the early Chōla period, the paintings which are contemporaneous (11th Century A.D.) are largely conventional such as Jaina painting developed into later on and this contrast with the Ajantā designs is worth noting (Smith, Ibid, p. 344).

18. *ŚRAVAṆA BELGOLA* :-Among later examples of which there are many, almost every Jaina temple of importance in the South having paintings on its walls and ceilings, mention may be made of those in the Jaina *maṭha* at Śravaṇa Belgola illustrating scenes from the lives of certain Tīrthaṅkaras and of Jaina kings.*

JAINA PAINTED MANUSCRIPT COVERS

The painted covers of Jaina manuscripts are documents of the highest importance for the study of Jaina art and they ought

*Ep. Car II, pl. XLVIII; Narasimhachar, *Inscriptions of Śravaṇa Belgola.*

not to be totally left out of consideration. The specimens of book furniture afford examples of excellent craftsmanship. The embroidery of the book covers is vigourously designed and admirably and patiently executed.

JAINA MINIATURE PAINTING COMPARED WITH BUDDHIST

Their (Jainas) pictorial art appears to be weak and inept yet no long intervening period separates the later monuments of Jaina architecture and sculpture from the age of manuscripts. The miniature art is inferior in feeling and power of expression —it lacks the humanness of the sculpture. Like the Jaina sculptor, the Jaina painter, too, played his role in the development of Jainism for Jaina painting, unlike Mughal painting, was the expression of a faith. Its mission was primarily to illustrate the lives of the great Jaina teachers and heroes by means of colour and line.

THE PROVENANCE OF JAINA PAINTING.

The provenance of the Jaina illustrated manuscripts is Guzerat and Rajputana.

THE MINIATURES OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The most important Jaina manuscripts with illustrations are manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācārya Kathā,* the latter being often found with the former. The earliest known illustrated manuscript is on palm-leaf and is dated 1237 A.D. Not

the least remarkable feature of this manuscript is that here we have examples of the earliest portraiture in Indian art, apart from representations of divine or semi-divine beings. These are portraits of Hēma Chandra, a Jaina apostle, and King Kumārapāla. Better known are the illustrated manuscripts on paper of the fifteenth century.

THREE PERIODS OF DEVELOPMENT OF JAINA PAINTING.

A close examination of available materials enables us to distinguish three styles of Jaina painting:

1. the earliest style — the style of the period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, which may be called the archaic period of Jaina art.
2. the style of the period of contact with Mughal art extending roughly from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century;
3. the style of the late seventeenth century, when Jaina art comes under the influence of Rajput art, and of the eighteenth century, when it completely merges into contemporary decadent Rajput art.

The head-type varies in each of the three periods of Jaina art. First, we have the archaic profiles of the early art, then the clear-cut chiselled features of the Mughal period and finally the fine oval countenances of the women and the whiskered faces of the men of the period of Rajput ascendancy.

THE ARCHAIC STYLE.

How hieratic forms repeat themselves in Jaina art-history is illustrated not only in the miniatures of the fifteenth century but also, and in a more remarkable degree, in the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras. "The excessive deference to ritual prescription.. is carried to such an extremity by the Jainas that images differing in age by a thousand years are almost indistinguishable in style. The uniformity which runs through the centuries extends all over India..". The archaic types of the early manuscripts persist in the Jaina brass and rock crystal images long after the fifteenth century.

ITS DECORATIVE VALUE AND TECHNIQUE.

Early Jaina art is a serious and formal art. It is an art distinguished by much clever craftsmanship but nevertheless it has an intrinsic charm of its own apart from mere technical excellence. The drawing, though usually rather rigid and inelastic, is at times distinguished by grace and power of expression and the pure blues and whites in the shining gold and red are a delight. Technically the early Jaina miniatures are of the highest interest. They do not reproduce the technique of the Buddhist miniatures. Jaina art is to be credited with the use, if not invention, of a remarkable technique without precedent in Indian painting. The process of working of the painter appears to have been as follows :- In the space left on the leaf for the miniature liquid gold paint, or it may even be gold leaf, was first laid on so much of the space as would be occupied by the subject of the picture. The background was now formed by laying on a deep scarlet and the pigment was laid on the gold in such

a manner as to leave a design in gold of the picture. The perfect control over the liquid gold which the Jaina artists exercised excites admiration.

ITS DEFECTS: The obvious aim of the Jaina artist was psychological and particularly spiritual expression. The attempt to express graphically the life-histories of saints was no doubt an arduous task.

Jaina art is essentially decorative. It does concern itself with pattern. Design is its first objective and colour is hardly less important. It is his decorative instinct which impels the Jaina artist to fill up his picture space with ornamentation. "The drawing has in fact the perfect equilibrium of a mathematical equation, or a page of a composer's score". The ornamental stylisation was necessary for the miniatures were intended as decorations to the manuscript. The miniatures were undoubtedly intended to embellish the manuscripts and admirably fulfill their function.

THEIR VARIETIES AND TECHNIQUE: The book covers of the Jaina manuscripts are of two kinds known as Pathari and Putha. The Patharis were the covers within which the manuscript was kept while the Putha was the holder within which the book was placed while being read.

THE ORIGIN OF JAINA PAINTING: It is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to trace the precise origin of the Jaina school of paintnig. It no doubt belonged to the "school of the ancient west" mentioned by Jaranath. Jaina art as we find it in the early religious books right up to the fifteenth century and even later was a specialised and splendid form of a

popular art expression of the people. It was a distinctive form into which that art expression had been moulded by hieratic tradition. Hence the conservatism of Jaina art — the conventionalized forms of the men and women and the sameness in the composition—features which repeat themselves in every manuscript so that the illustrations of one manuscript are closely identical with those of another to an extent which is without parallel. The popular art expression when thus diverted to the exclusive use of illustrating episodes in the lives of the Jaina saints is what we have come to know as Jaina art. It was a formal and frigid art in which convention had become supreme and had excluded freedom of design and cramped the unfettered movement of the artist's imagination and of his brush. It was as much an artistic formula as Byzantine art and it would not be correct to say as has been said recently that the Jainas had no art of their own. While Jaina art was not an art of independent growth it was a very real and special form of the art of the times which on account of its distinctiveness is entitled to be known as Jaina art. On the other hand what has been loosely called "Jaina secular art" is not distinctively Jaina art at all and there is no reason for calling it secular in opposition to the religious art of Jainism. This so-called Jaina secular art or secular art of Guzerat by whatever name it might be miscalled, is in reality as we have said before the art expression of the common people, the genuine popular art of the country. Examples of it are the *Vasanta vilās* roll and the Lor and Chanda illustrations.

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

Jainism is accused of being atheistic which is however not true. The numerous gods Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakshas, Yakshiṇīs

Indras, etc.)) that fill the Jaina Pantheon speak for the Jaina belief in godhood. But their gods art not creators of the universe, for creation implies volition or desire to create which can be spoken of only if there is anything which hitherto is not but must come into existence. The world is infinite and was never created at any particular moment. It is subject to integration and dissolution. Its constituent elements or magnitudes (*astikāyas*) including the soul are eternal and indestructible; but they change their forms and conditions. These changes take place in the two eras *avasarpiṇī* and *utsarpiṇī*. The desire to create would imply imperfection which will have to be attributed to God if he is to be the creator of the universe. Also the theory of creation, if accepted, will give rise to theories of a more complicated nature such as causation, which must eventually point to imperfection. The creator will be only a man, needy and therefore imperfect as any other. Jainism attempts to raise man to godhood and to inspire him to reach it as nearly as possible by "steady faith, right perception, perfect knowledge, and, above all a spotless life." Thus it will be seen that Jainism believes in godhood and Jaina iconography speaks of innumerable gods. Here it should be noted that in Jainism a sharp line of distinction is drawn between gods and *dēvas*; the former are called *Siddhas* and the latter are described as mundane souls. All souls can aspire to godhood. To avoid confusion we explain Siddhas as emancipated perfect souls, and *devas* as celestial beings in the mundane existence.

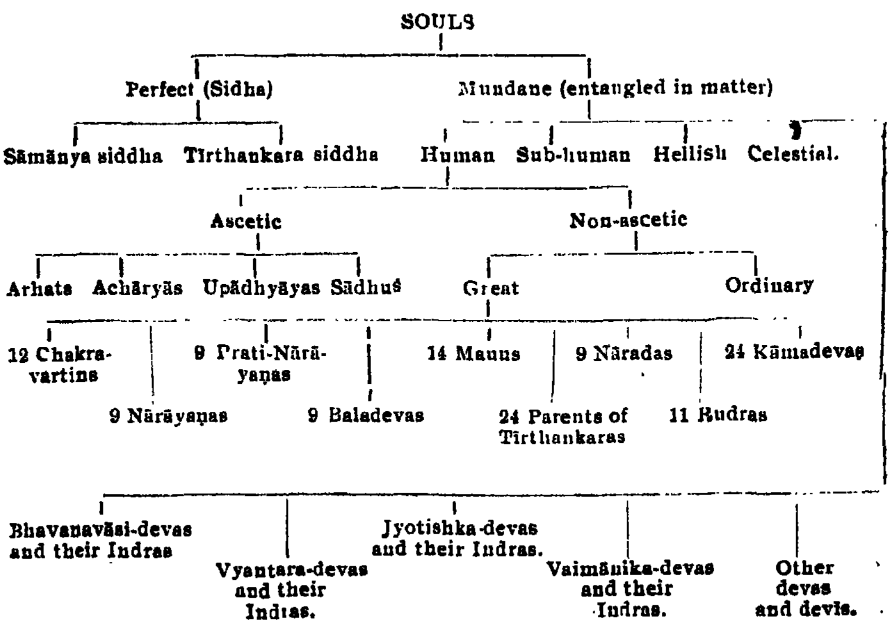
Jaina iconography as it is available to us to-day is so mixed up with Hindu iconography that a correct description of the various gods and goddesses occupying the Jaina pantheon is necessary to prevent them from being confused with their present equivalents in the Hindu pantheon. Though Brahmanical divinities have been included they have been accorded only inferior positions—a feature that luckily marks them out clearly. The

whole system of the Jaina gods and goddesses appears to-day as an elaborately *constructed system, probably synchronizing in its* origin with the period in Hindu iconography which witnessed a similar construction of a system of gods in accordance with certain dogmas that were made to standardize the various icons, till then loosely and freely fashioned. More than this we cannot say as materials are lacking for a chronological study of the Jaina system of divinities. Much reliance cannot be placed on the Jaina tradition that the system of Jaina divinities was evolved immediately after Mahāvīra, for if this were admitted it would carry the gods and goddesses back to very early centuries before the birth of Christ. Even very orthodox Jainas who accept the above tradition, will hesitate to assign the various Brahmanical divinities that have crept into their iconography to such a remote past, for they have undoubtedly been taken into the system as C. R. Jain says "to placate the Brahmanical hatred and win them over to protect the Jainas against bitter persecutions at the hands of their co-religionists (Hindus)." And so far as South India is concerned the need for protection appears to have arisen only about the seventh century A.D. The utmost that can be expected in the early centuries of the Christian era is that there was then a pantheon of gods, not so bewilderingly big as is found now, but probably consisting of only a select few. The membership may even have been so circumscribed that only the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras and some members of their families like Bāhubali or Gommaṭeśvara (Śravaṇa Belgola) and Bharata, etc., were admitted. But as years rolled on a regular Jaina hierarchy of *munis* or sages and Āchāryas or apostles came to be evoled. Very soon these came to be deified by their followers. Close on the heels of this visible apostle-worship came religious persecution. Both combined to elaborate for the modern Jaina the present iconography that he boldly and with legitimate pride presents to his erstwhile Hindu persecutor.

As in Hindu iconography, so also in Jaina, the gods and goddesses are classified into orders, and convenient groups; they are mostly mortal and are mostly distinguished by *lāñchchhanas* or cognizances. The most prominent among these gods as well as the most ancient are the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras or the perfected teachers who belong to the present age, (*Avasarpiṇī*).

Luckily we have ample materials concerning these Tīrthaṅkaras, and if to-day we have not a sufficiently satisfactory compendium of Jaina iconography it is not because materials are lacking.

TABLE OF CLASSIFICATION OF SOULS.



Siddhas, arhats, āchāryas, upādhyāyas and *sādhus* are called *pañcha-paramēshthīns* or the five supreme ones, to whom the Jainas pray and bow many times every day with the following invocation (*mantra*): —

Ṇamo arahantāṇaṁ, ṇamo siddhāṇam, ṇamo āyariyāṇam, ṇamo uvajjhāyāṇam, ṇamo loyē sabba-sāhūṇam.

"Salutation to the *arhats,* to the *siddhas,* to the *āchāryas,* to the *upādhyāyas* and to all the *sādhus* of the world".

With the above invocation repeated millions of times every day the Jainas bow with hands folded in *anjali* (worship) in the four cardinal directions, east, south, west and north. The main import of such a prayer is three-fold :—

(1) Worship is given to all human souls worthy of it, in whatever clime they may be, (2) worship is impersonal. It is the aggregate of the qualities that is worshipped rather than any individual, (3) The *arhat,* "the living embodiment of the highest goal of Jainism", is mentioned first and then the *siddha* who is disembodied and consequently cannot be appealed to or approached by humanity. As the *siddha* is without body the Jainas feel that they can never pray to the *siddha* alone and pre-eminently. A *siddha* has, infinite attributes of which 8 are generally mentioned and these the Jainas recite, telling their beads. By this they do not worship or salute the siddha but tell their beads "only with the object of stirring up their spiritual ambition and in order to remind themselves of the qualities a *siddha* must possess, in the hope that some day they too may reach their desired goal, and rest in perfect bliss in the state of *nirvāna,* doing nothing for ever and ever." Chanting the *pañcha-namaskāra*—mantra 108 times and telling the beads purify the soul.

The Jainas include *Aum* (*Om*) also in their incantation and interpret it as consisting of the following five sounds, standing for the five supreme ones (Pañcha-paramēshṭhīns) : a, a, ā, u and m ; *a* stands for *arhat ; a* stands for *aśarīra,* i,e., "dis-embodied", i.e., *siddha ; ā* stands for āchārya ; *u* stands for *upādhyāya ;* and *m* stands for *muni,* i.e., saint, who is the sādhu.

Images and sculptures containing figures of these five

supreme ones (*pañcha-paramēshṭhīns*) can be seen in Jaina temples. They are invariably in the shape of *chakras* standing on padmāsanas. A very interesting specimen of this symbolic worship is found in the temple at Tiruparuttikunram. The whole is in the form of a *chakra* which is supported by a crouching lion and two rearing *yalis* in turn standing on a *padmāsana* attached to a rectangular *bhadrāsana*. The *chakra* can compare well with the Hindu chakra which is associated with Vishṇu. Within the *chakra* is placed an eight-petalled lotus (*aṣṭadala-padma*), each petal bearing a seated figure or some article. The figures are those of the five supreme ones (*arhat, siddha, āchārya, upādhyāya and sādhu*) while the articles are a *dharmachakra* or the wheel of the law, a wooden rest supporting the Jaina scripture called *śruta* or *śruta-jñana* and a temple (*Jina-ālaya*). In the centre of the lotus where one would expect the seed-vessel of the lotus, is the seated figure of the Tīrthaṅkara in all his glory, attended by *chamaras*, triple-parasol, halo and the like. This chakra is symbolical of the worship of *Navadēvatās* or the "nine deities," they being the five *pañchaparamēshṭhīns* and *dharmachakra, śruta, chaitya* and *chaityālaya*. The *pañchaparamēshṭhīns* occupy the centre and the four cardinal points of the lotus while the latter four go in the petals alternately in the following order; preceeding clockwise *dharmachakra* first, then *śruta*, then *chaitya* (an idol) and lastly *chaityālaya* or temple.

The evolution of souls is based on three fundamental principles, viz.,[1] that man is not perfect, but can improve and can achieve perfection, that man's personality is dual, material and spiritual, and that by his spiritual nature man can and must control his material nature. [2]The second of the principles is in striking contrast with the Hindu *Advaitic* doctrine of *Brahman*, or *one soul which is in all and is all.* When the material nature is entirely subjugated the soul is said to have been liberated or to have attained perfection.[3]In its perfection-condition the soul

"enjoys its true and eternal character, whereof the characteristic is the four infinities—infinite perception of faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss." And such a soul is called a *Siddha*.

TIRTHANKARAS OF THE PRESENT AGE : (*Vartamānakāla*-Tīrthaṅkaras)—Images of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of the present age are usually placed on highly sculptured *āsanas*, generally *padmāsanas*. In North Indian temples they are generally of marble, white mostly except in the cases of Mallinātha, Munisuvrata, Nēminātha and Pārśvanātha, where they are often black. There is no such preference in South India for white marble and though we do find it in some of the Jaina temples here it is due to North Indian influence. Ordinary granite is more often selected for image-making than polished stone or any other material, it being maintained that the colossal statues at Śravaṇa Belgola, Kārkal and Yēṇur which are hewn out of rocks justify the selection.

Tīrthaṅkara images are luckily found only in two attitudes, sitting and standing. There, however, appears to be marked preference for the former attitude. Twenty-one Tīrthaṅkaras are said to have attained *nirvāṇa* in the *kāyotsarga* attitude, i.e., standing erect as, do Bharata and Bāhubali at Śravaṇa Belgola, while the other three did so while sitting on a *padmāsana*. These three are Ṛishabhadēva, Nēminātha, and Mahāvīra, who are considered the most important of all. The attitude in which they attained *nirvāṇa* was thus specially emphasised and came later to be sometimes associated with all the twenty-four. When colossal statues of any Tīrthaṅkara were made they were hewn out of boulders, the standing posture being mostly preferred.

Seated images of Tīrthaṅkaras always have the legs crossed in front, the toes of one foot resting close upon the knee of the other, and the right hand placed on the left in the lap, both the palms facing upwards. All are so alike when thus represented that the need appears to have been felt to differentiate them by certain devices which are known as *chihnas* or *lāñchhanas*. These emblems are usually carved on the pedestals or āsanas on which the images are installed. In the case of Pārśvanātha, snake-hoods numbering seven are shown over his head and sometimes a snake with a single hood or without hood on the pedestal. This is to distinguish him from Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, who has also snake-hoods over his head, though the number of the hoods rarely exceeds five. To avoid even the slightest confusion the *svastika* symbol has been prescribed for Supārśvanātha, which is scrupulously engraven in all images of this Tīrthaṅkara. Digambara images are all nude while those of the Śvētāmbaras, are dressed and sometimes decorated with crowns and ornaments. They have a triple umbrella called *mukkoḍai* in Tamil over their heads which is surrounded by a *bhāmaṇḍala* or holo. At the base of the *āsanas* are sometimes found nine figures representing the nine planets (*navagrahas*). On the front of the *āsanas* are usually carved two small figures. To the right of the Tīrthaṅkara stands a male figure representing the Yaksha or male attendant *dēva* of that particular Tīrthaṅkara ; to his left stands the corresponding female figure representing the particular Yakshiṇī or female attendant *dēvi* of that particular Tīrthaṅkara. Sometimes between these attendants is a small panel in which the figure of a devi called Vidyādēvi is often shown. Eight auspicious marks called *ashṭa-mangalas*, viz. parasol, flag, flywhisk, Svastika, mirror, vase (*Kalaśa*) powder-flask and a throne seat, are sometimes shown on the *āsanas*.

METAL IMAGES

1. PAHĀRPUR, RĀJSHAHI DISTRICT, BENGAL.

The metal images found at Pahārpur form an insignificant lot as compared with those discovered at Nālandā, Kurkihār and Chittagong. It is not easy to understand why Pahārpur has failed to produce any specimens of this Art. Among the images discovered that of Haragouri is the most ornamental and has to be attributed on stylistic grounds, to the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century A.D. To the same class have to be assigned the images of Gaṇēśa, Buddha, Jina and Kubēra. The existence of a Jaina monastic establishment at Vaṭagohāli in Pahārpur is attested to by inscriptions of the 4th century A.D.

TĪRTHAṄKARA : (height 3") : Now in the Indian Museum. Standing erect on a *padmāsana* between two indistinct figures, probably worshippers. Hair on the head is gathered in a top-knot and tied, as in Buddha images. It is interesting indeed to find that all the three important faiths were represented in the monastery at Pahārpur.

METAL IMAGES FROM ORISSA (NOW IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM)

The Jaina metal images from Orissa represent the Tīrthaṅkaras. Such are :—

1. *ṚISHABHADEVA* : Height with pedestal 1'—½", without pedestal 9½" (Figured in A. S. I. A. R. 1934-35, pl. XXIII, 4)

Found in mound along with two more Jaina images (Nos. 2 and 3) of Tīrthaṅakaras at Kakatpur on the bank of the Prāchi river, District Puri. The god is standing in *Samabhaṅga* and naked, on a *padmāsana* attached to a *bhadrāsana* in front of which reclines the bull, the cognizance of the first Tīrthaṅkara. Two slots on the *bhadrāsana* and nails behind the figure suggest that there was once a prabhā attached to the figure which is now missing. Hair on the head is arranged in a high *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a central vertical band partitioning the *jaṭās* in symmetrical rows of *jaṭās* as in stone sculptures of Padmapāṇī and Vajrapāṇī of the 7—8th century A.D. from Kendrāpārā, Orissa (Chanda, *Explorations in Orissa,* pl. VI, figs. 1 and 3). Twisted locks of *jaṭās,* three on each side, overhang the shoulders giving to the whole (jaṭāmukuṭa and head) the appearance of a *vimāna.* The image may date from 7—8th century A.D. like the Kendrāpārā sculptures referred above.

2. *ṚISHABHADEVA :* Height with pedestal 4¾″; without pedestal 3½″. Standing naked on a *padmāsana* attached to a *bhadrāsana* which reveals a row of 8 siddhas seated and a couchant bull (the cognizance of this Tīrthaṅkara) in front. Similar to No. 1 except that instead of the *jaṭāmukuta* there is a small *ushṇisha* on the crown, the hair which has been cut closely showing only little curls as in the case of Buddha images. Datable like No. 1. Three letters in early Brāhmi have been engraved, unusually though on the back of the image. They read *ga ya da.* As the image is definitely a late specimen the letters must be forgeries.

3. *TĪRTHAṄKARA, PROBABLY ṚISHABHADEVA* : Height with pedestal 3½″; without pedestal 3″: Similar to No. 2. but without *bhadrāsana* or the *lāñchhana.* A similar forgery of letters

in early Brahmi can be seen on the back of the image, the letters reading *ja ka pa*. Here as well as in the previous image the writings convey no sense. Of same date as No. 1.

4. *RISHABHADEVA* : 4¾″. The *Tīrthaṅkara* is seated in *samaparyaṅka* on a padmāsana attached to a pedestal with its front in five recesses. The bull is seen couchant in front of the god. The hair is arranged like a jaṭāmukuṭa as in the case of No. 1 from Kakatpur. The god is flanked by a standing Jina on either side (the left one is broken and missing), the lāñchhana, the bull, being shown near the legs. Though at first sight the flanking gods may be mistaken for the Śāsanadēvatās of Rishabhadēva, the fact that one of them who alone remains, the other having broken away, stands naked with the bull for his lāñchhana, shows that Rishabhadēva was meant in both cases. There were writings in mediæval characters on the āsana (both in front and behind) which owing to heavy metallic pittings (the image is in a bad state of preservation) could not be easily read.

The image was found near a tank at Balipatnā, near Bhuvanēśvar, District Puri, and may date from the 10th–11th century A.D.

3. JAINA IMAGES FROM GWĀLIOR.

A copper shrine and four Jaina figures representing the Tīrthaṅkaras were found in 1869 in the course of excavations in the Gwālior fortress and were presented by the Government of India. They are now in the Indian Museum. Both the shrine and the Tīrthaṅkara images appear to date from the 10th–11th centuries A.D. They are :—

1. *PADMAPRABHA* : the 6th Tīrthaṅkara. Height with pedestal 5½", without pedestal 3½". Seated in *samparyanka* on a padmāsana attached to a bhadrāsana and against a back piece which reveals grooved knobs and flames as in Nālandā bronzes. A *padam* (the red lotus) which is the *lāñchhana* of this Tīrthaṅkara is marked on the padmāsana in front. An *ushṇisha* and curly hair characterise the head.

2. *CHANDRAPRABHA* : the 8th Tīrthaṅkara. Total height 10½", height of image alone 5". Seated in *samparyaṅka* on a bhadrāsana and against a backpiece which presents certain decorative details recalling Nālandā. Such are grooved knobs on the sides, flanking *makara* heads and halo with its edge of bead-course and occasional flames. The halo is surmounted by the crescent which stands for the *lāñchhana* of this Tīrthaṅkara who can be identified as Chandraprabha. *Śrīvatsa* mark can be seen in the middle of the chest. Facial type remainds one of Chittagong Buddhas and is also found in Nālandā ; hence can be said to date from 10–11th centuries A.D.

3. *NANDIŚVARA IN THE FORM OF A SHRINE* : Inscribed. Height 1'–6".75 ; base is 6".25 square. A quadrangular and pyramidal tower surmounted by an *āmalaka* and much corroded, is placed on a square base, and consists of three storeys each of which is supported by a pillar at each angle, the storeys diminishing in height from below upwards. Figures of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras are arranged on these storeys, 12 on the bottom one – 3 on each side – and all standing ; 8 on the middle one – 2 on each side – and all seated in samparyaṅka. Among the four on the top can be made out Pārśavanātha who can be distinguished by a canopy of five snake hoods over his head. All the Tīrthaṅkaras bear the triangular *Śrīvatsa* mark on their chests.

The specimen is a symbolical representation of one of the *dvīpas* special to Jaina cosmology, called *Nandīśvara-dvīpa*, where the Jinas (Tīrthaṅkaras) are said to be worshipped in the 52 temples by the *dēvas* and other highly spiritual souls. This *dvīpa* or continent is described as being filled with "temples, theatre-pavilions, arenas, jewelled platforms, beautiful stupas and statues, fair chaitya-trees, Indra-dhvajas, and divine lotus-lakes in succession and that "in the various temples and palaces here the *dēvas* in all their splendour, together with their retinues celebrate *eight-day festivals** on the holy days of the Arhats or the Jinas".

Traces of an inscription, badly weathered, can be made out on one of the side rims of the lower-most storey. What remains reads as *hi....na da....dhi*. The writings are in early characters, say 4—5th centuries A.D., too early indeed for the specimen which can hardly date earlier than the 9–10th centuries A.D., and convey no sense in their present incomplete and mutilated condition.

4. NAHAR'S COLLECTION.

A copper image of Tīrthaṅkara probably Mahāvīra from Puran Chand Nahar's collection (Calcutta) is of exceptional interest to the Jaina artist as it is of the class popular in South Kanara and also bears an inscription in old Kanarese characters of about the 12th century A.D. reading as

"Śrī Jinavalabhana Sajjananāgiya jayamādisida pratime".

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* The Jainas celebrate this Parvan thrice a year, in their temples, during the months of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and Phālguṇa from the 8th to the Purṇimā.

"Image (of Tīrthaṅkara) set up or consecrated by the good Śrī Jina-vallabha".

The image being inscribed serves as a guide to date the large number of similar Jaina images in the same style that hail from South Kanara. From a photograph of his image in my possession I could just make out as the *lāñchhana* the figure of lion (?), in frontal pose from which its identity as Mahāvīra becomes clear.

5. SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES.

(a) BELLARY DISTRICT, HARPANAHALLI TALUK, KOGALI VILLAGE.

(Now in the Madras Museum and found while digging for earth in 1936.)

(i) *TĪRTHAṄKARA SUMATINĀTHA – BRONZE:* Total height 32.5 c.m. Width 21.5 c.m. Seated on padmāsana attached to a simhāsana. The *chakra* his cognizance is present on the pedestal between two lions which indicate the *Simhāsana.* There is an inscription in Kanarese on the left side of the pedestal which reads as *"Svasti Śrī silo (to?) ma si lpi ya pra ti me."* To the pedestal is fixed an elaborate *prabhāvali* in the shape of a vimāna presenting the following :— *Yaksha* and *Yakshiṇī* on either side of the Tīrthaṅkara ; there are chamaradhāriṇīs one on either side of the Tīrthaṅkara ; *bhāmaṇḍala* and *Mukkoḍai.* A dwarf is seated by the side of the *Yakshiṇī.*

(ii). *MAHĀVĪRA – BRONZE*: Total height 36·3 C.M. Total width 19.5 c.m. Standing on a padmāsana attached to

a rectangular base supported on four legs. Two projections on either side of the base bear the Yaksha and Yakshiṇi of Mahāvīra. An elaborate *prabhāvali* (broken into two or three pieces) shows the following :— "Twenty–three Tīrthaṅkaras arranged in a row with Pārśvanāha the twenty-third perched on the top, *chāmaras* one on either side of Mahāvīra, *bhāmaṇḍala* and *Mukkoḍai*. The image is of fine finish with curly lock on the head and long tufts of hair hanging on either side of the head.

(iii) *MAHĀVĪRA –BRONZE*: Total height 13.3 c.m. Total width 7.4 c.m. Seated on a perforated *āsana* supported by a pedestal bearing the lion placed between two kneeling worshippers. The seat supports a *prabhā* on which can be seen two *gaṇadharas* and the *Bidyādevī* special to Mahāvīra, the latter holding a book in her hands. The *Yakshas* stand on either side of Mahāvīra.

(iv) *MAHĀVĪRA – BRONZE* : Total height 29 c.m. Standing on a pedestal the front of which bears three lions, the central one being the *lāñchhana* while the flanking ones indicate the *simhāsana*. The image is broken into three parts and stands in front of a *prabhā* also broken bearing bhāmaṇḍala and Mukkoḍai. The pedestal has an inscription in Kanarese which reads "*ba lla nte bhi ya ya bbe sa di*."

(v) *TĪRTHAṄKARA – BRONZE* : Height of the figure 20.5 c.m. Height of pedestal 3 c.m. Standing on a pedestal in front of a broken and damaged *prabhā* parts of which are missing. One of the parts of the *prabhā* contains the mukkoḍai with finial, and another part represents the *bhāmaṇḍala* which is secured to the figure.

(vi) *PĀRŚVANĀTHA — BRONZE*: Total height 17.5 c.m. Standing on a padmāsana. A fivehooded cobra is attached to his back with its hoods spread over his head.

TIRUMALI VILLAGE–POLUR TALUK,

(vii) Tirumalai village—Polur taluk, North Arcot district. Copper idol of *CHANDRAPRABHA*. Tr. Tr. 1927. Seated in *dhyāna* on bhadrāsana and against a back ground formed by a circular *prabhāvali,* the latter showing in elegant juxta position mukkodai, *dīkshā vṛksha, bhāmaṇḍala,* and flanking chamaradharas. Though *lāñchhana* is not found, the image according to the local tradition is called Chandraprabha.

(viii) MAHĀVĪRA, locality unknown. A bronze statuette of rather crude workmanship, with its locality unknown represents Mahāvīra with the lāñchhana, lion on the pedestal, between two other similar lions—all in frontal pose. The god is shown sitting in *dhyāna* against a back piece with flanking attendants depicted on it in relief. The back pieces recall Pāla models and the whole, with its history unknown may be either from East India or executed after East Indian model.

(b). RECENT FIND OF JAINA BRONZES IN NORTH KANARA DISTRICT

In the course of the historical and manuscript survey of the Bhatkal Petha (North Kanara district) in February 1940 a large find of Jaina bronzes was secured at Haduvalli, Kaikini and Bhatkal. This part was once subject to the rule of Jaina chieftains from the Alupas down to the late Vijayānagara period and there are a number of Jaina vestiges in this tract. The *basadis* are at

present in a miserably dilapidated condition and the whole area is overgrown with thick forest. Access to this part is not an easy task.

Among the Jaina images which belong to the early Vijayanagara period, the following figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras identifiable from the emblems on the pedestal are found :—

1.	Sambha-nātha	(big size)
2.	Ajitanātha	"
3.	Puṣpadanta	"
4.	Mallinātha	"
5.	Śāntinātha	
6.	Śītalanātha	"
7.	Supārśvanātha	"
8.	Sumatināthā	"
9.	Vimalanātha	(small size)
10.	Śāntinātha	"
11.	Padmaprabha	"
12.	Dharmanātha	"
13.	Kunthunātha	"
14.	Mallinātha	"
15.	Naminātha	"
16.	Vāsupūjya	"
17.	Ādinātha	(big, seated)
18.	Bāhubali	(not a Tīrthaṅkara)

Most of these are standing in Kāyotsarga pose on a beautifully decorated pedestal with an artistically depicted *prabhāvali*. The Yakshas and Yakshīs are carved on the pedestal. A number of vacant pedestal and *prabhāvalis* have also been secured.

Besides these, there are in this find separate images of Padmāvati, Brahmadeva (Kshēttrapāla) riding on horse-back, buffaloes and Chaudis and a miniature Nandiśvara ? metal block with thirteen Siddhas–three on each side of the block and one at the top. This is a

rare find. More than 100 objects of all sorts in all were found deposited at Haduvalli in a hollow metal block of a big Chaitya pillar (*mānastambha*) which had been buried underground by the local Jainas lest the the images should be stolen away from the open and dilapidated *basadis* of the place. The block forms the bottom-most prop of the pillar and bears an inscription of Śaka 1407. Stone images of Padmāvati and Brahmadēva were also found.

The Tīrthaṅkara images which were found in North Kanara district in large numbers have no special interest. Six photographs of the most important of the finds were sent at my request by Mr. Panchamukhi. And their description is as follows :-

PHOTOGRAPH 1 : Head of Tīrthaṅkara. Date - Vijayanagara.

PHOTOGRAPH 2 : (a) *Ādināthа* : Seated in *dhyāna* on a high padmāsana. The image is of excellent finish recalling the best of the Vijayanagara period.

(b) *Nandiśvara* :a symbolical representation in pyramidal form of Nandiśvara-dvipa, rising in three tiers. Several Siddha figures can be made out sitting on the sides of the pyramid in meditation. (Cf. Tiruparuttikunaram and its Temples, P. 181 and Plate XXXI. figures 3 & 4.) The specimen is crude and appears to be late (post-Vijayanagara)

PHOTOGRAPH 3 : (a) Brahmadēva (Kshettrapāla) on horse back and sword in right hand. Of Vijayanagara period.

(b) Block showing 24 Tīrthaṅkaras (23 of them in miniature and the 24th in large

size) attended by his respective Śāsana-dēvatās and Gautama and Gaṇadhara. Of Vijayanagara work.

(c) Chaudi figure. Late. Poor work.

(d) Two buffaloes. Late. Poor work.

PHOTOGRAPH 4: Padmāvati, Yakshiṇī of Pārśvanātha. Four hands, one broken. The other three hold noose, fruit and lotus. A snake-hood is seen over her *mukuta*. Haṁsa is her *vāhana* which is shown at her feet. Workmanship, though poor, recalls Vijayanagara.

PHOTOGRAPH 5: (1) Stone Brahmadēva seated in front of a prabhā; (2) Ādinātha seated in *dhyāna* and (3) Tīrthaṅkara plaque with subsidary Tīrthaṅkaras in miniature and attendant *Śāsanadēvatās*. All the three are of Vijayanagara work.

HAMPI, HOSPET TALUK, BELLARY DISTRICT.

The Jainas formed a large and flourishing community in the Bellary district is evident from the large number of their temples scattered all over the district. They almost invariably selected a picturesque site for the erection of their temples valuing rightly, the effect of environment on their architecture.

The Ganigitti Jaina temple on the Kampli road, two dilapidated examples to the east of the Elephant Stables, two more just north of the northern gopuram of the Pamāpati temple and

another about a mile north-east of Hampi, standing on the hill side, amongst others are some of the Jaina temples of Hampi.

We learn from the inscriptions, that in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Bukka Rāya, as early as 1368, the king brought about a reconciliation between the Jainas and the Vaiṣṇavas. The fact that Bukka Rāya ordained that "they should each pursue their own religious practices with freedom", tends to show that the Jainas at that period were an important and influential community.

CONCLUSION.

In our search for Jaina vestiges in South India we have been able to notice that in the case of monuments discussed already such as Sittannavasal, Tirumalai, Tiruparuttikunaram and places in Bellary and South and North Kanara districts which have produced the largest number of bronzes for our study, as well as in others there is a sharp tendency and distinction in the orientation, and disposition of the different classes of vestiges. The point can be elucidated thus.[1] Jaina rock-cut sculpture is profuse in districts in South India, such as, Bellary South Arcot, Anantapūr, Trichinopoly, North Arcot, Madura, Pudukottah State and South Kanara.[2] Sculptures in the round in the local styles (Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagar) hail from Chingleput, Kistna, Malabar, Vizagapatam, Cuddapah, Pudukottah (State), South Kanara, Bellary, Tinnevelly, Godavari and Ganjam districts.[3] The colossal statues of Bāhubali (Gummatēśvara) from Kārkal, Venur (in South Kanara district), and Śravaṇa Belgola in Mysore are world famous. Equally so are the *mānastambhas* from the above places. The *mānastambhas* in the Hampi Ruins, (Bellary District), in the Chandranātha temple at Mudabidri (South Kanara district), in

the Nēmiśvara temple at Kārkal and in front of the Gummatēśvara statue of the same places and at Venur, Guruvayankeri in South Kanara district are specimens of the best architecture of the period standing for or symbolising Jaina cosomological concepts.

Structural temples are found every where, the types being mostly Dravida and in a few cases as at Hampi, in the Nāgara style of temple architecture. Noteworthy are the temples at Hēmakutam in Hampi, Ratnagiri in Anantapur district, Chipagiri in Bellary district, Danavulapadu in Cuddapah district, Tiruparuttikunaram in Chingleput district, Mudabidri, Chaturmukha temple at Kārkal, Vēṇur, Guruvayankeri in South Kanara district, Mettupudur in Coimbatore district, Singapalle in Ganjam district, and Tīrumalai in North Arcot District.

Special and unique to Jainism are the pyramidal tombs that one can see at Mudabidri and *Bastis* such as the Kathale Basti, which is a hall, in the village of Hosala, South Kanara district.

Of especial interest are the Jaina memorial stones, most of them inscribed, and *nisidis* or epitaph stones, which (the latter) contain much historical information in their inscriptions and the best art of the time in the sculpture carved on them. A number of such *nisidis* from Penukonda, one of the *vidyāsthānas* of South Indian Jainas, now constitute the Jaina Gallery of the Madras Museum. Space forbids me to multiply instances of Jaina vestiges. Of bronzes we have recovered quite a number, chiefly from South and North Kanara, Chingleput, Bellary and North Arcot districts and these are mostly of later periods. The truth seems to be that, as in Hindu temples, it was the custom to embellish every Jaina temple with a set of metal images (*utsava vigrahas*) to be carried out in procession during select festivals.

Plate I



Parsvanatha, (10th Cent.) Udayagiri (Rajgir)

Plate II



Standing Jina (10th Century), Vaibharagiri (Rajgir)

Plate III

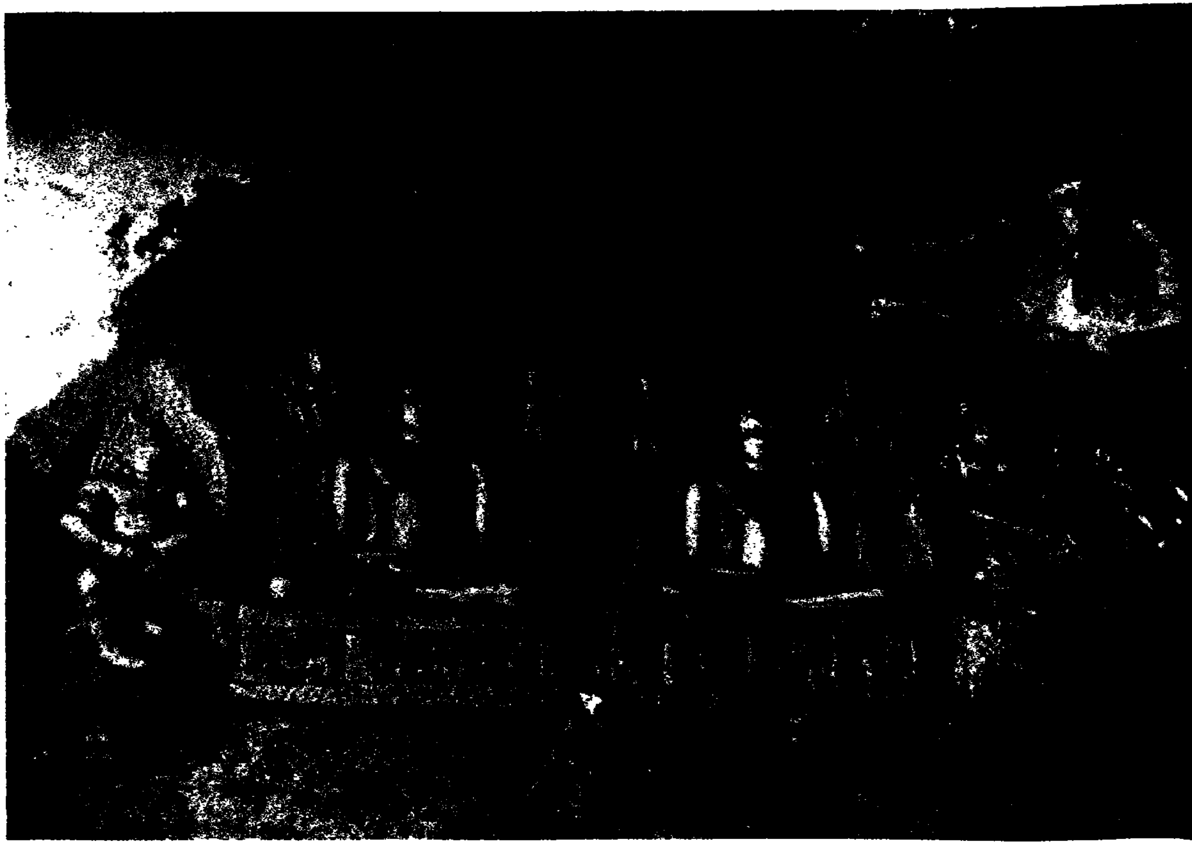


Rishabhadeva from near Kosam (U. P.)

Plate IV



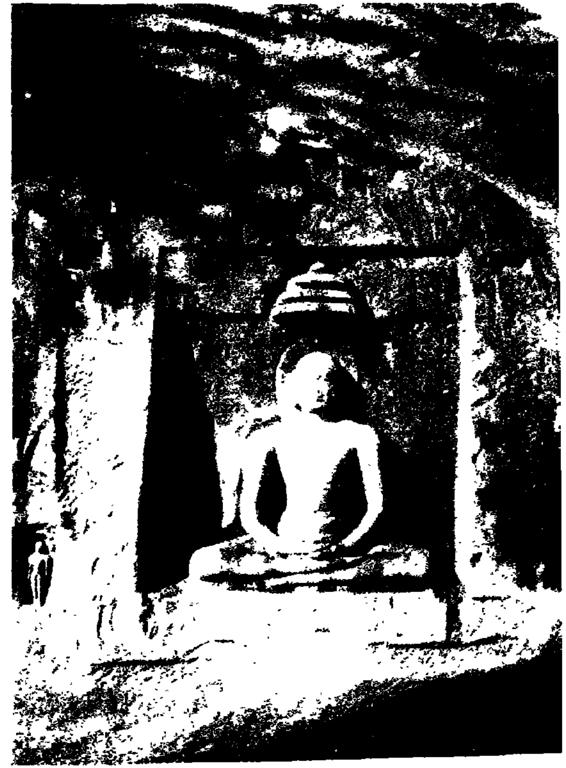
Rock Carvings of Adinath and Ambika-Khandagiri (Orissa)



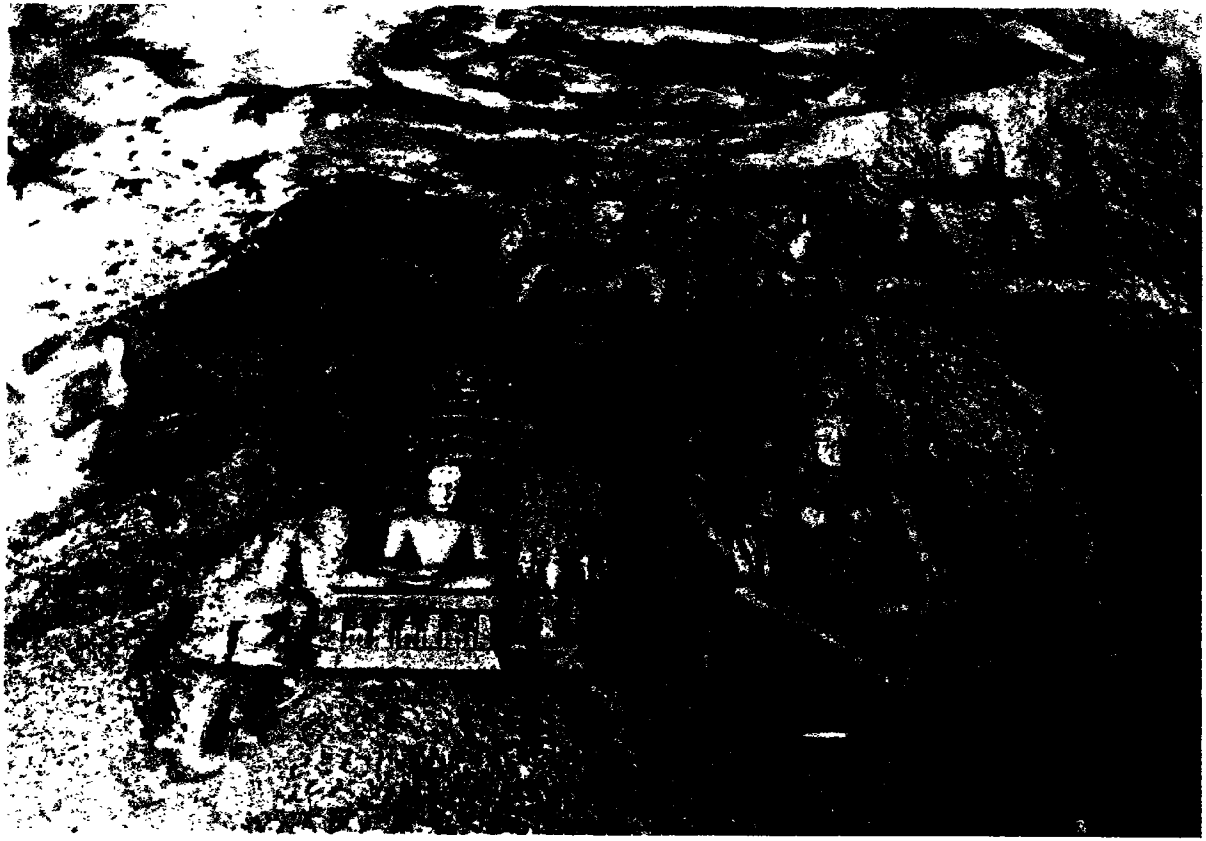
Carvings of Vardhamana, Vallimalai Caves, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)



Jaina Cave with carvings of Vardhamana, Vallimalai, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)



Carvings of Vardhamana detailed (p. 18) Vallimalai Caves, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)



Jaina cave with carvings of Parsvanatha, Vallimalai, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)



Jaina Cave with carvings of Tirthankaras inscribed (9th Cent.) Vallimalai, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)



Rock Carvings over-looking the plains, Vallimalai, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)

Plates XI



Rock carvings of Vardhamana, Vallimalai, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)

Plates XII



Rock carvings of Ambika (Dharmadevi), Vallimalai Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)

Plate XIII



ock carvings said to represent Valli, Vallimalai Caves, Chittoor Dist. (S. I.)

Plate XIV



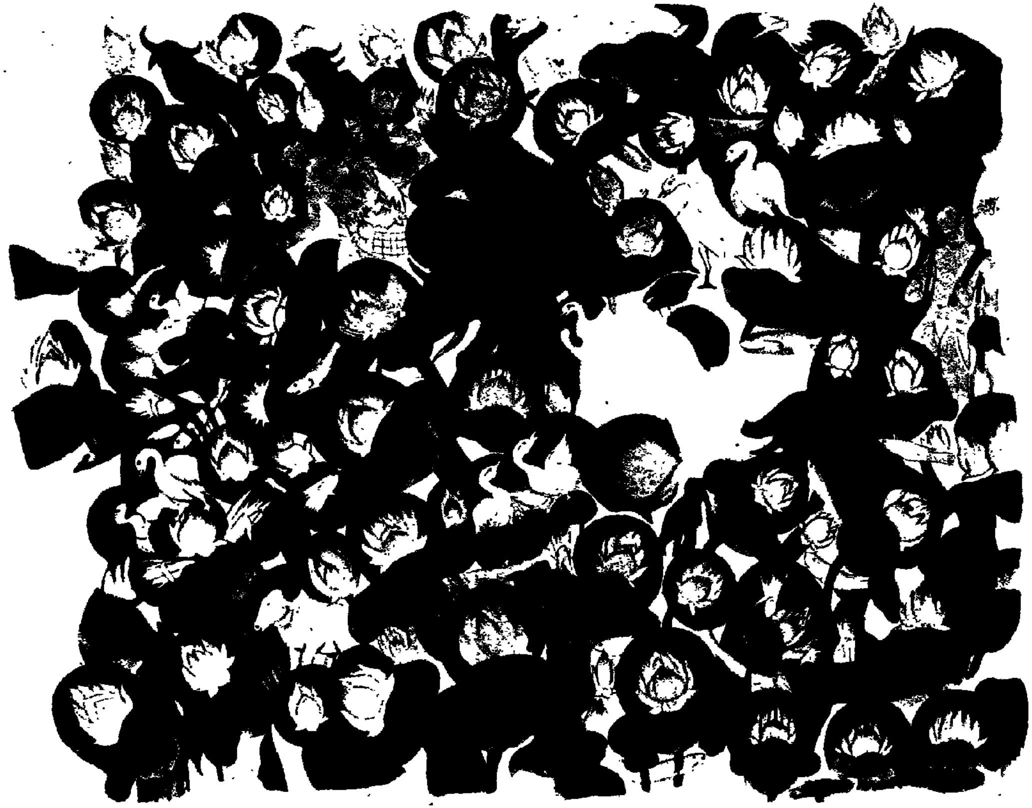
Detail of entrance to shrine, Pallava cave Temple (600-640 A. D.), Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S. I.)



Carvings of Chandraprabha (?), Pallava cave Temple (600-640 A. D.), Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S.I.)



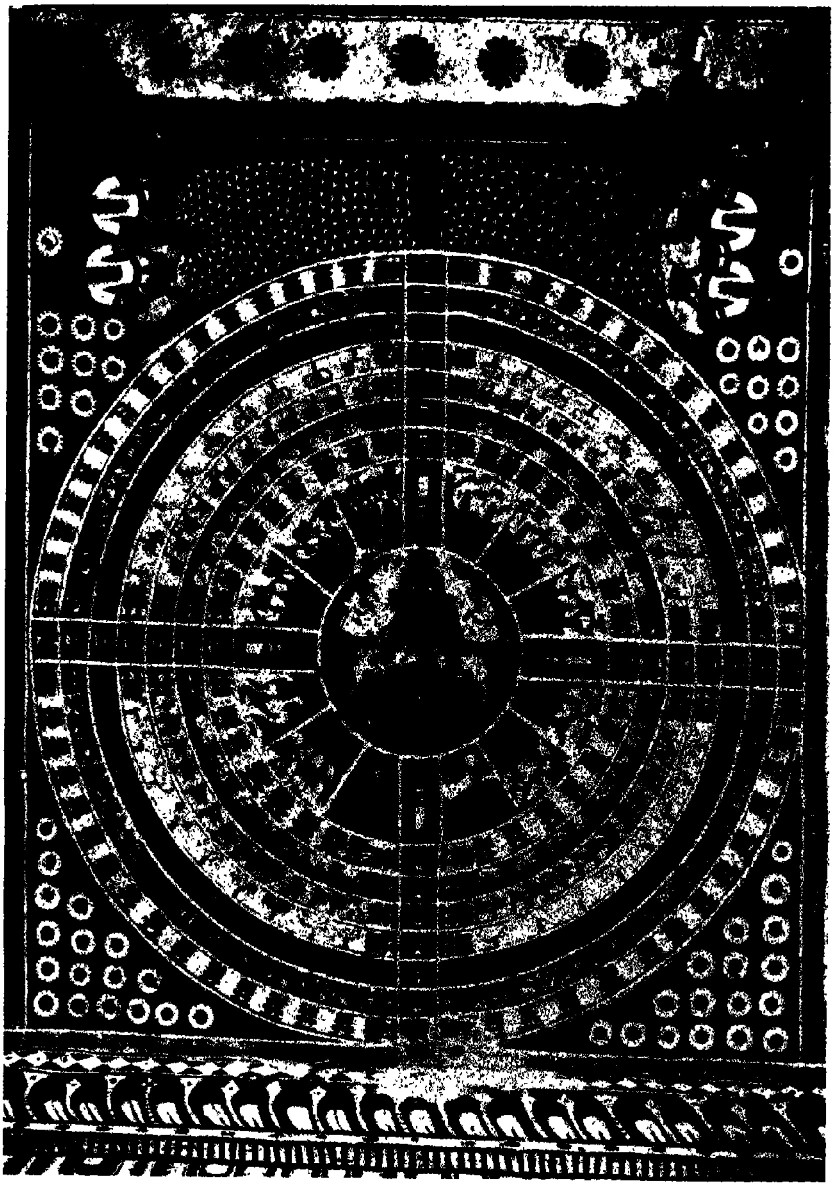
Carvings of Parsvanatha, Pallave cave Temple, Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S. I.)



Painting of Khatika-bhumi (Lotus Tank) (p. 42)
Pallava cave Temple (600-640 A. D.), Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S. I.)



Line drawings of Lotus Tank with figures of men, animals etc. (p. 43)
Pallava cave Temple (600-640 A. D.), Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S. I.)



Painting of Samavasarana from Vardhamana Temple Mandapa Tiruparuttikunram (Kanchipuram) Chingleput Dist. (S. I.)



Man gathering lotus flowers detailed (p. 43)



Man in the tank with lotus flowers (p. 43)



Dancing girl (p. 44)



Lotus flowers and geese detailed

Pallava cave Temple (600-640 A. D.) Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S. I.)



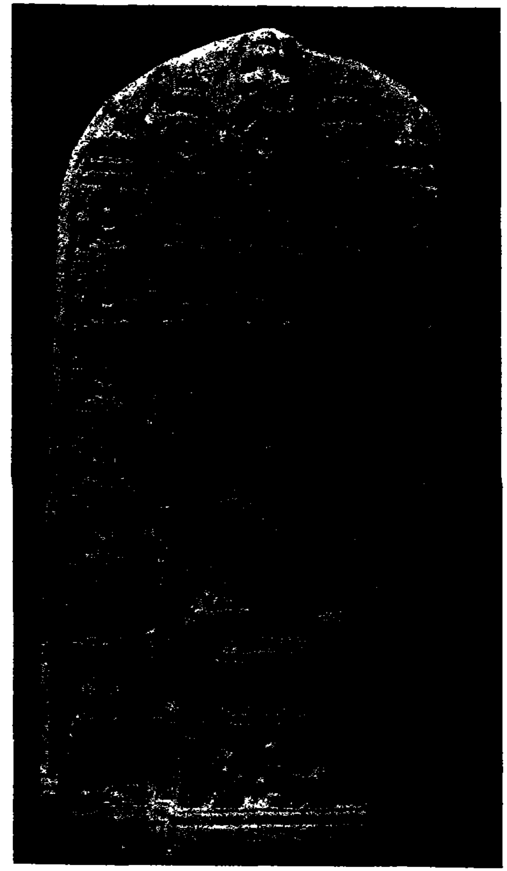
Dancing girl, Pallava cave Temple, Sittannavasal, Pudukottai State (S. I.)

Plates XXV



Mandapa, Neminatha Temple, Tirumalai Hill, North Arcot Dist. (S. I.)

Plates XXVI



Rishabhadeva V. R. S. Museum. Rajshahi



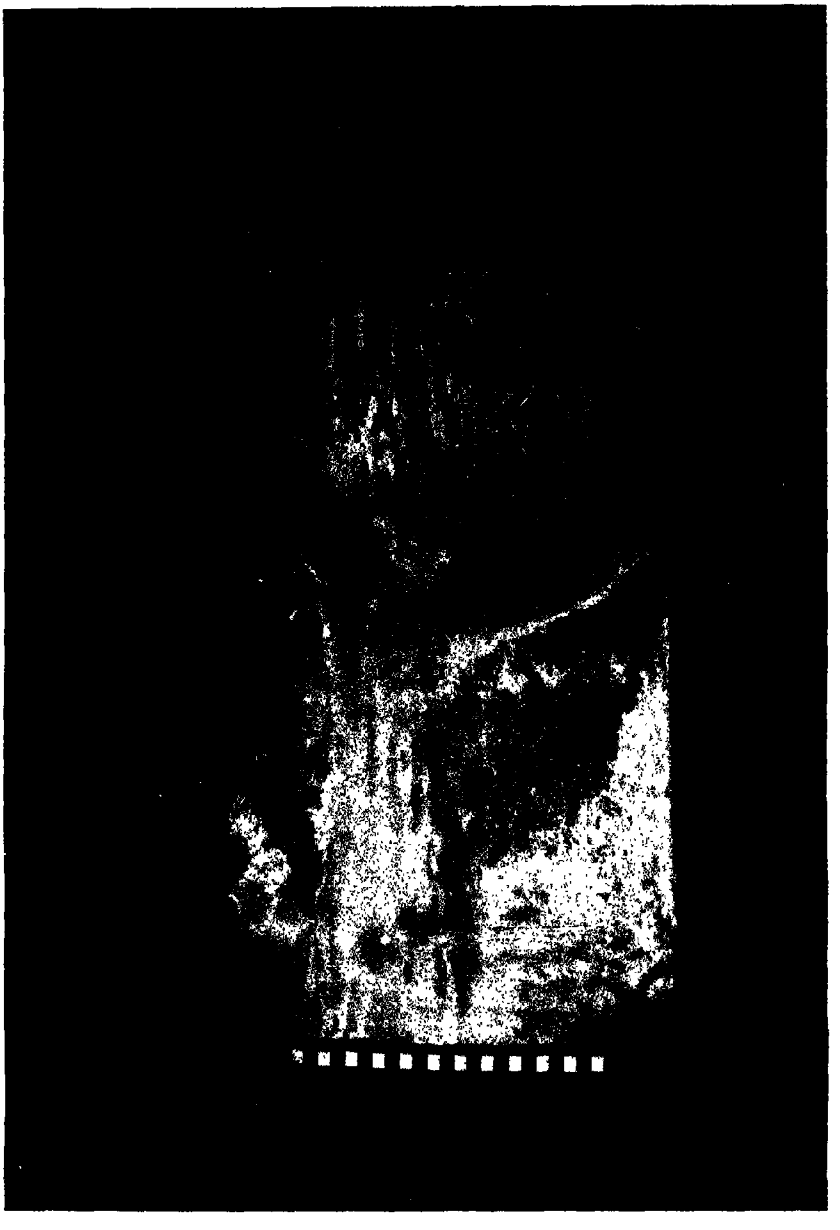
Neminatha Temple general view (p. 46), Tirumalai Hill, North Arcot Dist. (S. I.)



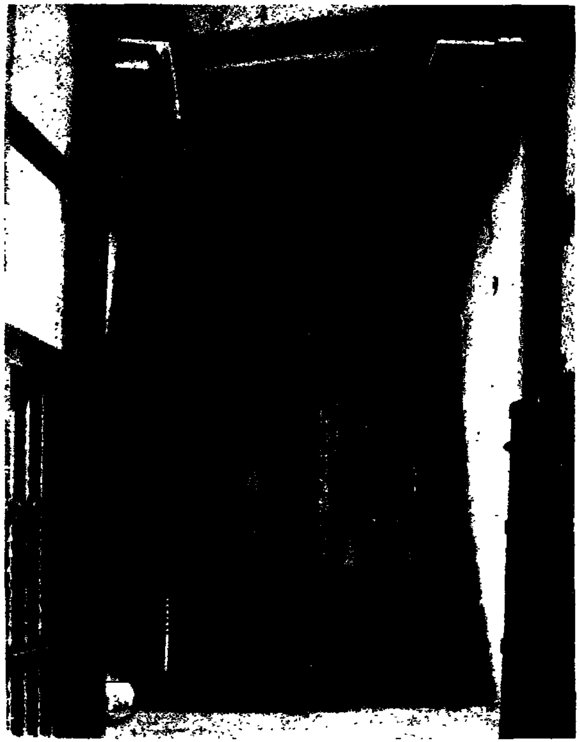
Rocks showing the niches and Tirthankaras (p, 46) Tirumalai Hill, North Arcot Dist. (S. I.)



Rock carvings above the colossal image of Tirthankara (p. 46) Tirumalai Hill, North Arcot Dist. (S. I.)



Painting on the wall of the shrine, Tirumalai Hill, North Arcot Dist. (S. I.)



Colossal image of Neminatha, Tirumalai Hill
North Arcot Dist. (S. I.)



Brahmadeva Pillar, Karkal, South Kanara (S. I.)



995.

Standing images, Chaturmukha temple, Karkak, S. Kanara (S. I.)

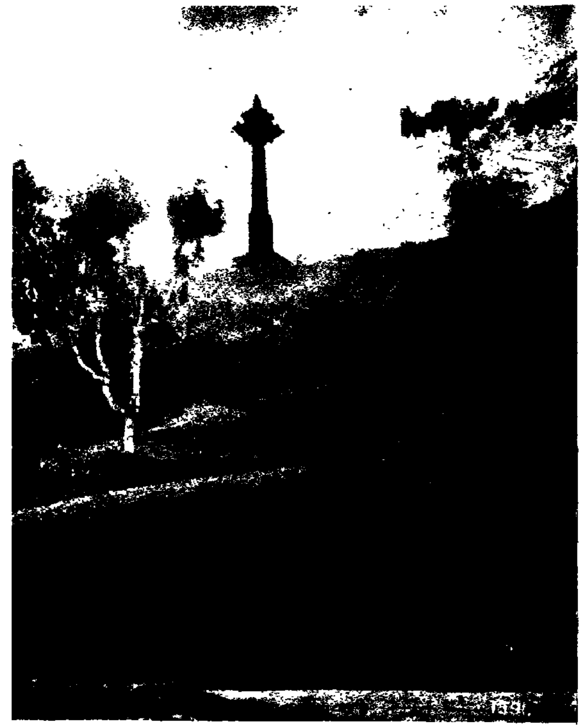


Chaturmukha temple from South-East, Karkal, South Kanara (S. I.)





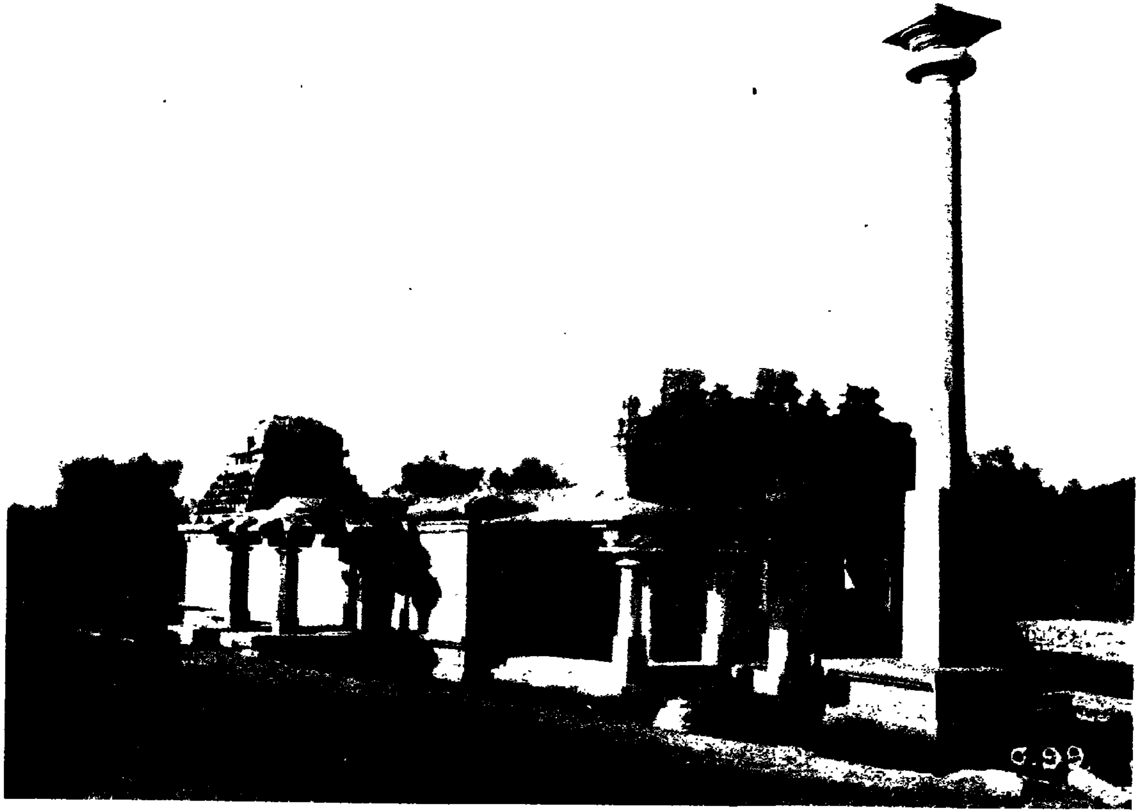
Finely carved wooden door in Chautar's Palace Mudabidri. S. Kanara (S. I.)



Manastambha, Bappanada, Mangalore Taluk S. Kanara Dist. (S. I.)



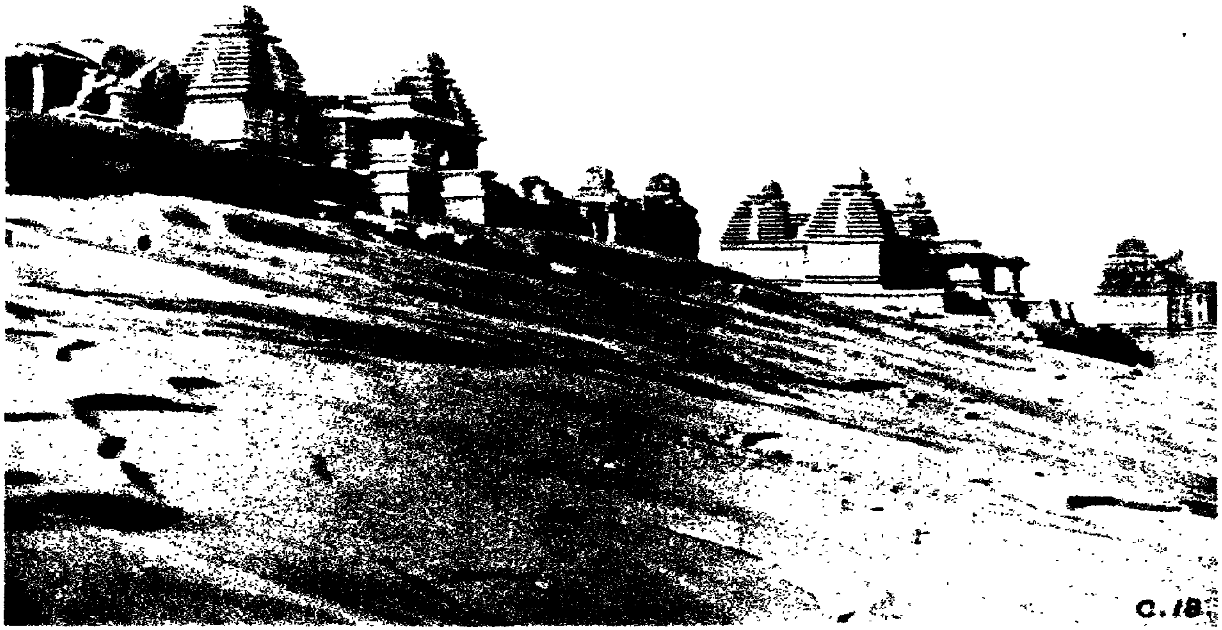
Image of Bahubali (14th Cent. A. D.), Hampi, Bellary Dist. (S. I.)



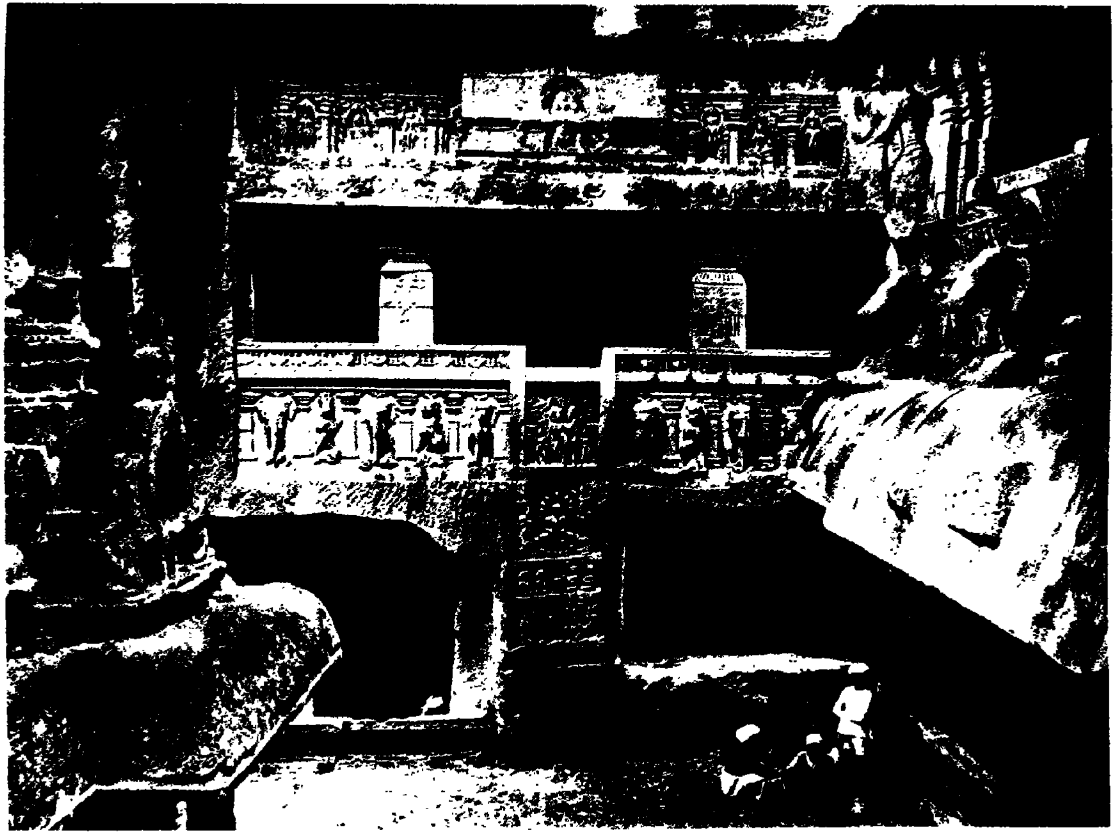
Kunthunatha Temple, Ganigitti, Hampi, Bellary Dist. (S. I.)



A group of Jaina temple, Hemakutam, Hampi, Bellary Dist. (S. I.



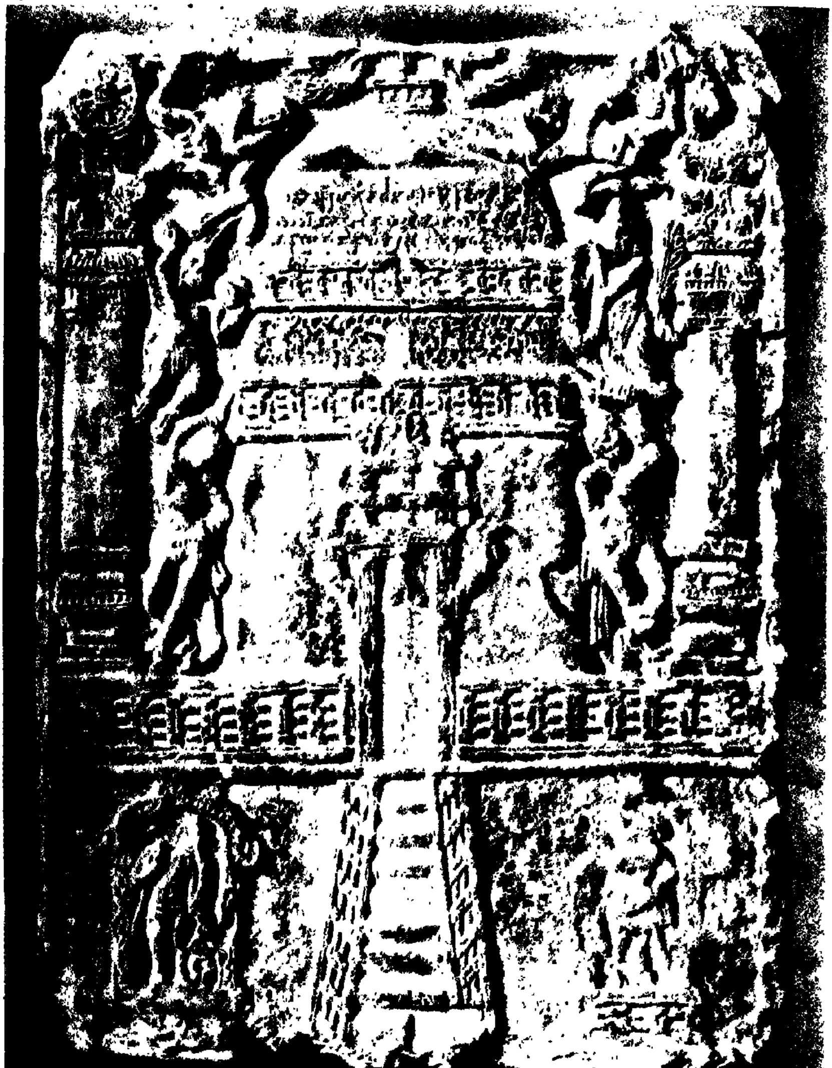
East view of Jaina temples, Hemakutam, Hampi Bellary Dist. (S. I.)



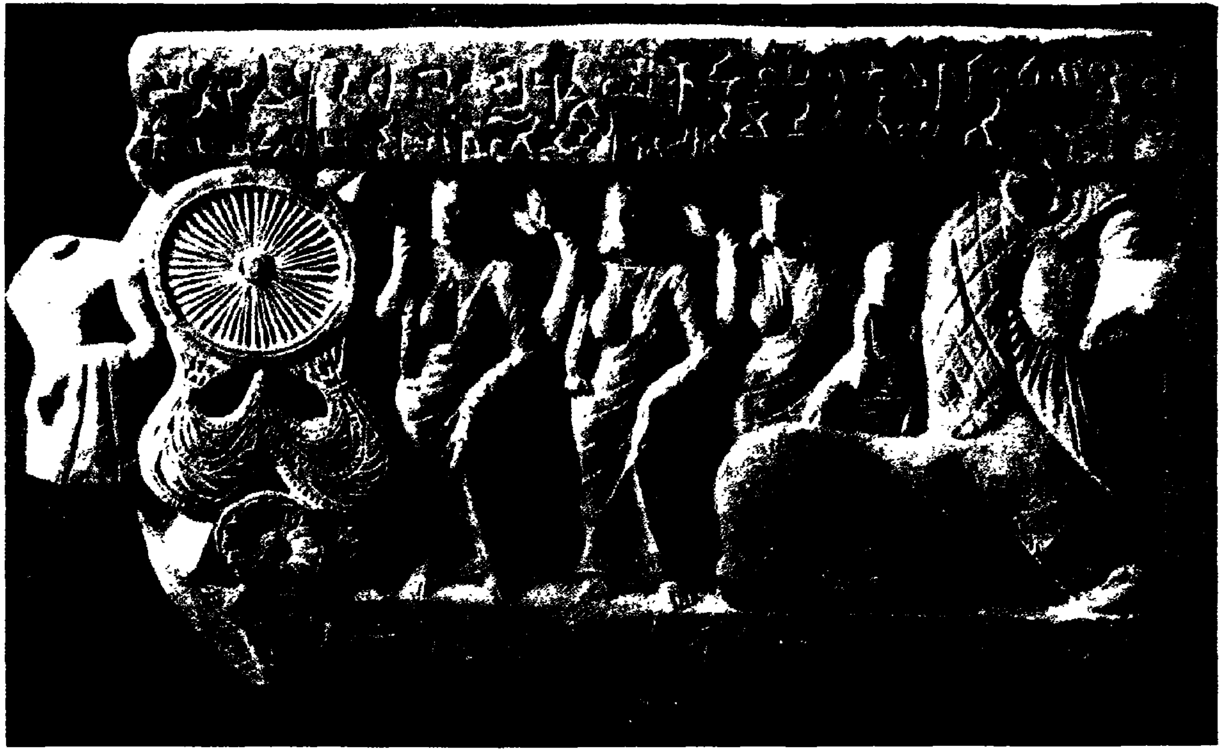
Indra-Sabha Cave Temple Ellora (8th Century A. D.)



Dance and Music, Rani Cave Udayagiri (Orissa) 2nd Century B. C.



Ayagapata of Lonasobhika Mathura 1st. Century, B. C.



Fragment Showing Worshippers Mathura, 127 A, D.